



THE
VISHNU PUṢANA:
A SYSTEM
OF
HINDU MYTHOLOGY AND TRADITION
TRANSLATED
FROM THE ORIGINAL SANSKRIT.
AND
ILLUSTRATED BY NOTES
DERIVED CHIEFLY FROM OTHER PURĀṆAS.
BY THE LATE
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VISHNUPĀÑNA

BOOK V. (continued).

CHAPTER XVII.

Akrūra's meditations on Kṛishṇa: his arrival at Gokula: his delight at seeing Kṛishṇa and his brother.

AKRÚRA, having set off in his quick travelling-car, proceeded to visit Kṛishṇa at the pastures* of Nanda; and, as he went along, he congratulated himself on his superior good fortune, in having an opportunity of beholding a descended portion of the deity.† "Now," thought he, "has my life borne fruit; my night is followed by the dawn of day: since I shall see the countenance of Vishṇu, whose eyes are like the expanded leaf of the lotos.‡ I shall behold that lotos-eyed aspect§ of Vishṇu, which, when seen only in imagination, takes away the sins of men. I shall, to-day, behold that glory of glories,¶, the mouth of Vishṇu,¶ whence proceeded

Gokula.

† Namely, Chakrin, in the original.

Here follows, in the Sanskrit, a stanza left untranslated:

अद्य मे सफले नेत्रे अद्य मे सफला गिरः ।

यन्मे परस्परालापो दृष्ट्वा विष्णुं भविष्यति ॥

Śrīdhara gives this stanza; but Ratnagarbha does not appear, from my MSS. of his commentary, to recognize it.

§ Literally, "the lotos-eye."

¶ धाम धाम्नाम । Variant, preferred by the commentator Ratnagarbha: "

धाम देवानां, "light of the gods".

¶ The original has Bhagavat.

th and all their dependent sciences.* I shall
 / over-^{er}ign of the world, by whom the world is
 sus † who is worshipped as the best of males, ‡
 as e of sacrifice §. In sacrificial rites. I shall see
 K who is without beginning or end; by wor-
 sh whom with a hundred sacrifices, Indra ob-
 te e sovereignty over the gods. That Hari,
 whose nature is unknown to Brahmá, Indra, Rudra,
 the Áswins, the Vasus, Ádityas, and Maruts, will (this
 day) touch my body. The soul of all, the knower of
 all, he who is all, and is present in all, he who is per-
 manent, undecaying, all-pervading, will converse with
 me. He, the unborn, who has preserved the world in
 the various forms of a fish, a tortoise, a boar, a horse.¹

¹ The commentator explains this to mean Hayagriva,—or
 Vishnú with the neck and head of a horse.—who, it is said, in the
 Second Book ¶ of the Bhágavata, appeared at the end of a great

* To render *vedānga*. •

† *A'hiladhára*.

‡ *Purushottama*. See Vol. I., p. 16. note †.

§ *Yajna-purusha*. See Vol. I., p. 163, note •.

¶ The words of the commentators are, in common, simply अश्वः ।
 हययोवः । But I show, presently, that they must be wrong

¶ The passage referred to is Chapter VII, 11, where Brahmá is the
 speaker. The original and Burnouf's translation are subjoined:

सत्त्वं ममास भगवान्हयशीर्षाद्यो

साक्षात्स यज्ञपुरुषस्तपनीयवर्णः ।

कन्दोमयो मखमयोऽखिलदेवतात्मा

वाचो बभूवुःशतीः श्वसतोऽस्य नक्षः ॥

"Dans mon sacrifice, Bhagavat lui-même fût Hayagrícha, le mâle du
 sacrifice, dont la couleur est celle de l'or, dont les Védas et les sacri-
 fices sont la substance, et les divinités l'âme; quand il respira, de ses
 narines sortirent de ravissantes paroles."

Professor Wilson's view of the meaning of the stanza just quoted is
 more than usually imaginative

the earth, who assumes shapes at will, h. him the condition of humanity to acc. object cherished in his heart. That Anar

sacrifice performed by Brahmá, and breathed the texts of the Vedas. The fourth Avatára where, said to be the Vámana, or dwarf. †

In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, VIII., XXIV., 7, 8, it is said, that, as Brahmá slumbered, the Vedas slipped out of his mouth, and Hayagrīva came, and furtively carried them off. Hari, or Vishṇu, it is subsequently stated, at last slew Hayagrīva.

According to Vol. II., p. 125, Vishṇu is worshipped, in Bhadráśwa, as Hayaśirsa,—the Hayaśirsha of the verses cited above, and of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, V., XVIII., 1. For Aśwaśirsa, as an epithet of Nārāyaṇa, or Vishṇu, see the *Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-parvan*, śl. 13100, &c.

With this divinity Professor Wilson has confounded the demon Haya-grīva, for whom see Vol. II., p. 70, note §, and p. 210, note 1. Aśwa-grīva, mentioned in the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parvan*, śl. 2533, is, presumably, identical with the latter, who has a fellow in Aśwaśirsa,—*ibid.*, śl. 2531 and 2646.

The passage in Vol. I., Preface, p. LXXXVI., where “Vishṇu, as Hayagrīva” is spoken of, I have not yet been able to verify. In the meantime, it may pretty safely be surmised that there is a mistake.

Hayaśirsha, Hayaśirsa, and Aśwaśirsa are, being interpreted, ‘Horse-headed’; Hayagrīva and Aśwa-grīva, ‘Horse-necked’.

In the *Śabdakalpadrūpa*, the first definition of Hayagrīva makes him an epiphany of Vishṇu, for the sake of recovering the Vedas, which had been carried off by Madhu and Kaiṭabha. The passage there quoted—*Mahābhārata*, *Śānti-parvan*, śl. 13497—13503,—does not, however, mention Hayagrīva at all, but Aśwaśirsa.

My friend Mr. C. P. Brown informs me, that, in the Madras Presidency, Hayagrīva is a not uncommon name for a Brāhman to bear. The fact is noteworthy. Hayagrīvahan, “Slayer of Hayagrīva,” is an epithetical designation of Hayaśirsha, i. e., Vishṇu.

* *Siṃha*; which here denotes *nṛi-siṃha*, the commentators say. See Vol. IV., p. 277, text and note †.

† See Vol. III., p. 18, text and note 1.

upon his crest, and who has descended upon its protection, will (this day,) call me by my name, glory to that being, whose deceptive adoption of son, friend, brother, mother, and relative is unable to penetrate! Glory to him, who is without true knowledge, who is inscrutable,* and through whom, seated in his heart, the Yogin crosses the wide expanse of worldly ignorance and illusion! I bow to him, who, by the performers of holy rites, is called the male of sacrifice (Yajnapurusha); by pious worshippers† is termed Vāsudeva; and, by the cultivators of philosophy,‡ Vishṇu. May he in whom cause, and effect, and the world itself is comprehended be propitious to me, through his truth: for always do I put my trust in that unborn, eternal Hari, by meditation on whom man becomes the repository of all good things.”§

His mind thus animated by devout faith, and meditating in this manner, Akrūra (proceeded on his road, and) arrived at Gokula a little before sunset, at the time of the milking of the cows. And there he saw Kṛishṇa, amongst the cattle, dark as the leaf of the

* *Ameya.*

† *Sātvata.*

‡ *Vedānta.*

§ यथा तच्च जगद्वाञ्छि धातर्ये तत्प्रतिष्ठितम् ।
सदसत्तेन सर्वेन मय्यसौ यातु सीम्यताम् ॥
सृते सकलकल्याणभाजनं यच्च जायते ।
पुरुषसमर्थं नित्यं व्रजामि शरणं हरिम् ॥

The original here has “at the milking-place of the cows”, आदोहने त्वाम् । Śrīdhara's and Ratnagarbha's comment: आदोहने। दोहनस्थाने ।

full-blown lotos; his eyes of the same as
his breast decorated with the Śrīvatsa† n
armed; and broad-chested; having a high
a lovely countenance brightened with mirth
treading firmly on the ground, with feet
were tinted red; clad in yellow garments, and
with a garland of forest-flowers; § havin
gathered creeper in his hand, and a chapl
lotos-flowers on his head. ¶ Akrūra** al
there, Balabhadra, white as a swan, a jasm
moon, and dressed in blue raiment; having large and
powerful arms, †† and a countenance as radiant as a
lotos in bloom,—like another Kailāsa-mountain, crested
with a wreath of clouds.

When Akrūra saw these two youths, his counte-
nance expanded with delight, †† and the down of his
body stood erect (with pleasure). For this he thought
to be supreme happiness and glory; this, the double
manifestation of the divine Vāsudeva. §§ This was the
twofold gratification of his sight, to behold the creator

• प्रसृष्टपद्मपचाणम् ।

† See Vol IV., p. 268.

• प्रलम्बबाहुमासीनं तुङ्गोरस्थलमुन्नतम् ।

§ वन्यपुष्पविभूषितम् ।

• सार्द्धं नीललताहृतम् । Variant, accepted by the commentator Ratna-
garbha: सेन्द्रनीलाचलाभं तम् ।

¶ सिताम्भाजावतंसकम् ।

** *Yadu-nandana*, "descendant of Yadu," in the original.

†† Add "and shoulders".

• विकसद्वृत्तसरोजः ।

§§ एतत्तत्परमं धाम तदेतत्परमं पदम् ।

भगवद्वासुदेवांशो द्विधा योऽयमवस्थितः ॥

of reverse, now he hoped that his bodily form
 would fruit, as it would bring him in contact
 with person of Vishná,*—and that the wearer of
 its arms would place his hand on his back; the
 to whose finger alone is sufficient to dispel sin,
 at secure imperishable felicity; that hand which
 is the fierce irresistible discus, blazing with all
 the flames of fire, lightning, and the sun, and, slaugh-
 tering the demon-host, washes the collyrium from
 the eyes of their brides; that hand into which Bali
 poured water, and thence obtained ineffable enjoy-
 ments below the earth,† and immortality, and do-
 minion over the gods for a whole Manwantara, without
 peril from a foe. “Alas! He will despise me for my
 connexion with Kámsa,—an associate with evil, though
 not contaminated by it. How vain is his birth, who
 is shunned by the virtuous! And yet, what is there,

साफल्यमश्नोर्युगमेतद्व
 वृष्टे जगद्धातरि यातमुच्चैः ।
 अथङ्गमेतन्नगवत्प्रसादा-
 द्दत्तेऽङ्गसङ्गे फलवन्मम स्यात् ॥

† The original implies that Bali, who had dwelt below the earth, ob-
 tained, &c..

* * * * * बलिर्मनोऽन्ना-
 नवाप भोगान्वसुधातलस्थः ।

For Bali,—a Daitya, son of Virochana,—successively sovereign of Pá-
 tāla and an Indra, see Vol. II., p. 69, and p. 210, note 1; Vol. III.,
 p. 18, note 1, and p. 23.

The translation, towards the end of the present chapter, is very free,
 generally.

अथेष मां कंसपरिग्रहेण
 दोषास्यदीभूतमदोषकुष्टम् ।
 कर्ता न म्रोनोवहृतं धिक्कसु
 तज्जन्म तत्साधु बहिष्कृतो यः ॥

in

hearts of all men, who is ever existent, ex
imperfection, the aggregate of the quality
and identical with true knowledge?* Wi
wholly devoted to him, then, I will appoa
of all lords, the descended portion of Pur
of Vishnu, who is without beginning, midd

Some of my MSS. have, instead of न मौनोपहतं, अट
This variant is noted by the commentator Ratnagarbha, and is in
the text of Śrīdhara.

ज्ञानात्मकस्यामलसत्त्वाशे-
रपेतदोषस्य सदा स्फुटस्य ।
किं वा अगत्य च समस्तपुंसा-
मज्ञातमस्यासि हृदि स्थितस्य ॥



CHAPTER XVIII.

Gopīs, on the departure of Kṛishṇa and Balarāma
 ra: their leaving Gokula Akrūra bathes in the
 beholds the divine forms of the two youths, and
 praises Vishṇu.

THUS meditating, the Yādava approached Govinda, (and addressed him,) and said, "I am Akrūra," and bowed his head down to the feet of Hari.* But Kṛishṇa laid upon him his hand, which was marked with the flag, the thunderbolt, and the lotos, and drew him (towards him), and affectionately embraced him. Then Rāma† and Keśava entered into conversation with him, and, having heard from him all that had occurred, were much pleased, and led him to their habitation: there they resumed their discourse, and gave him food, to eat, and treated him with proper hospitality.‡ Akrūra told them how (their father) Anakadundubhi,§ the princess Devakī, and (even his own father,) Ugrasēna had been insulted by the iniquitous demon,|| Kāmsa: he also related to them the purpose for which he had been despatched. When he had told them all these things, the destroyer of Keśin¶ said to him: "I

• चरणी नमाम शिरसा हरेः ।

† The original has Bala.

‡ सह ताभ्यां तदाकूरः द्रुतसंवादानादिकः ।

भुक्तभोज्यो यथान्यायमाचचचे ततस्तयोः ॥

§ See Vol. IV., p. 101, text and note 1.

|| Dānava.

¶ Keśi-sūdana. Compare the cognate epithet of Kṛishṇa, Madhusūdana, "slayer of Madhu."

gifts.* Rāma and I will go, to-morrow along with you. The elders of the company us, bearing ample offerings, night, and dismiss all anxiety.† With I will slay Kāṁsa and his adherents.”

Having given orders, accordingly, t Akrūra, with Keśava and Rāma, § retired slept soundly in the dwelling of Nanda. The next morning was bright; and the youths prepared to depart for Mathurā, with Akrūra. The Gopīs, seeing them about to set forth, were much afflicted; they wept bitterly; their bracelets were loose upon their arms; and they thus communed together: “If Govinda depart for Mathurā, how will he return to Gokula? His ears will there be regaled with the melodious and polished conversation of the women of the city. Accustomed to the language of the graceful females of Mathurā, he will never again endure the rustic expressions of the Gopīs. Hari, the pride of the station, ¶ is carried off; and a fatal blow is inflicted upon us by inexorable destiny. Expressive smiles, soft language, graceful airs, elegant gait, and significant

* Here follows a stanza left untranslated.

करिष्ये च महाभाग यद्वीपयिकं मतम् ।

विचिन्त्य नान्यथैतत्ते विद्धि कंसं हतं मया ॥

These verses are recognized, in their texts and comments, by both the scholiasts. Furthermore, they are found translated at length in Professor Wilson's Hindu-made English version.

† *Upāyana*.

‡ निश्चिन्तं नीयतां वीर न चिन्तां कर्तुमर्हसि ।

§ Balabhadra, in the Sanskrit.

|| The translation is, hereabouts, free and expanded.

¶ *Goshthā*.

belong to the women of the city.* Hari is of reeding: and, captivated by their fascinations, elihood is there of his returning to the society ne amongst us?† Kesava, who has mounted to go to Mathurā, has been deceived by the vile, and desperate Akrūra. Does not the un- traitor know the affection that we all here feel for our Hari, the joy of our eyes, that he is taking him away? Unkind that he is, Govinda is departing from us, along with Rāma. Haste! Let us stop him. Why talk of telling our seniors that we cannot bear his loss? What can they do for us, when we are consumed by the fires of separation? The Gopas, with Nanda at their head, are, themselves, preparing to depart. No one makes any attempt to detain Govinda. Bright is the morning that succeeds to this night, for the women of Mathurā: for the bees of their eyes will feed upon the lotos-face of Achyuta. Happy are they who may go hence without impediment, and behold, enraptured, Krishṇa on his journey. A great festival will give pleasure, to-day, to the eyes of the inhabitants of Ma- thurā, when they see the person of Govinda.: What a blissful vision will be seen by the happy women (of the city), whose brilliant eyes shall regard, unchecked,

- भावगर्भस्मितं वाक्यं विलासललिता गतिः ।
नागरोष्णमधैवैतत्कटाक्षेक्षितमेव च ॥
- याम्यो हरिरयं तासां विलासनिगडैर्युतः ।
भवतीनां पुनः पार्श्वं कया युक्त्या समेष्यति ॥
- धन्यास्ते पथि ये कृष्णमितो यान्धनिवारिताः ।
उद्धृष्ट्यन्ति पञ्चनतः स्वदेहं पुलकाक्षितम् ॥
- मथुरानगरोपीरूनयनानां मङ्गोत्सवः ।
गोविन्दावयवैर्दृष्टैरतीवाद्य भावेष्यति ॥

the countenance of *Kṛishṇa*! * Alas! The Gopīs have been deprived of sight by the *Brahmā*, † after he had shown them this grace. In proportion as the affection of Hari for us do our limbs wither, and the bracelet our arms.‡ And now the cruel *Akrūra* and his horses. All conspire to treat unhappy friends with unkindness. Alas! alas! We see, now, only the spokes of his chariot-wheels. And now he is far away, even that dust is no longer to be seen.” Thus lamented by the women, § *Keśava* and *Rāma* quitted the district of *Vraja*.¹ Travelling in a car drawn by fleet horses, they arrived, at noon, at the banks of the *Yamunā*, when *Akrūra* requested them to halt a little, whilst he performed the usual daily ceremonial in the

* In the *Bhāgavata*, *Hari Vanāsa*, &c., several adventures of *Kṛishṇa*, during his residence at *Vraja*, are recorded, of which our text makes no mention. Of these, the two most popular are *Kṛishṇa*’s taking away the clothes of the Gopīs whilst bathing, and his liberating the Gopas from the mouth of *Aghāsura*, — disguised as a vast serpent,—into which they had entered, thinking it a cavern in a mountain. The omission of these two legends, or of any of the rest, is not much to be regretted.

* The original has *Adhokshaja*, for the signification of which word see Vol. I., p. 28, note †.

† *Vidhātṛi*, in the Sanskrit. *Vide infra*, p. 15, note ¶.

‡ *अनुरागेण शैथिल्यमस्मासु व्रजता हरेः ।*

शैथिल्यमुपयान्त्याशु करेषु वलयान्यपि ॥

§ *इत्येवमतिहर्देन गोपोजननिरोक्षितः ।*

¶ That is to say, *Agha* the *Asura*. He was *Kaṁsa*’s generalissimo; and it seems that little more than this fact is known of him. See the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X., Prior Section, Chapter XII.

Accordingly, the intelligent *Akrūra bathed*,
 sed his mouth; and then, entering the stream,
 † meditating upon the supreme being.† But
 d (mentally.) Balabhadra, having a thousand
 reads, a garland of jasmine-flowers, and large
 s.; attended by Vāsuki, § Rambha, and other
 serpents, ¶ praised by the Gandharvas, deco-
 rate, with wild flowers, wearing dark-coloured gar-
 ments, crowned with a chaplet,** of lotoses, ornamented
 with brilliant ear-rings, inebriate, and standing at the
 bottom of the river, in the water.³ On his lap he also

¹ The noonday prayer, or Sandhyā.

² By his Dhyāna, or force of meditation, in which it is at-
 tempted to bring before the mind's eye some definite form of the
 object of adoration. In this case, *Akrūra* is compelled to see a
 form he did not anticipate. The *Hari Vamśa*, †† very clumsily,
 sets him to meditate upon the serpent *Śeṣha*, which spoils the
 story; intended, as that is, to exhibit the identity of *Balarāma*
 and *Kṛishṇa* with the Supreme.

³ *Balarāma* was, thus, visible in his real character of *Śeṣha*, ††-
 the chief of serpents, the couch of *Vishṇu*, and supporter of the
 world.

अथाह कृष्णमकूरो भवद्वा तावदास्तेताम् ।
 यावत्करोमि कालिन्ध्यामाह्निकार्हणमभसि ॥

The *Yamunā* is here called *Kāḷindī*.

† To translate *Brahma*.

‡ उन्निद्रपद्मपद्मवर्णेषणम् ।

§ See Vol. II., p. 74.

See Vol. II., p. 287, note *. The conjecture which I there ventured
 thus turns out to be correct.

¶ *Pavanāsin*.

** *Avatāṇśaka*.

†† Chapter XCIII.

‡‡ See Vol. II., pp. 74 and 85, and p. 211, note 1; also, Vol. III., pp. 30, 31.

beheld, at his ease. * *Kṛishṇa*, of the con-
 cloud,¹ with full and coppery eyes, having
 form, and four hands, armed with the disc
 weapons, wearing yellow clothes, decorated
 coloured flowers, and appearing like a cl
 lished with streams of lightning and the bo
 His breast was marked with the celestia
 arms were radiant with bracelets: a diade
 his brow;§ and he wore a white lotus for
 He was attended by Sanandana¶ and other holy sages,
 who, fixing their eyes upon the tips of their noses,
 were absorbed in profound meditation.**

When Akrūra beheld Balarāma†† and Kṛishṇa in this
 situation, he was much amazed, and wondered how
 they could so quickly have got there from the chariot.
 He wished to ask them this; but Janārdana deprived
 him of the faculty of speech, at the moment. Ascend-
 ing, then, from the water, he repaired to the car: and
 there he found them both, (quietly) seated, in the same
 human persons as before. Plunging, again, into the
 water, there he again beheld them, hymned, as before,

¹ Or, rather, he beheld Ghanaśyāma,—an appellation of Kṛishṇa,
 who is so called from being as black (śyāma) as a cloud (ghana).

* *Akṣiṣṭa*.

† Śakra, in the original.

‡ To render *śrīvatsa*. *Vide supra*, p. 5.

§ श्रीवत्सवचसं चारुकेयूरमुकुटोज्ज्वलम् ;

|| *Avatānsaka*.

¶ See Vol. II., p. 226; and p. 227, note 1.

** सनन्दादीर्मुनिभिः सिद्धयोगैरकल्पैः ।

विचिन्त्यमानं तच्छ्रीर्नासायन्यस्तलोचनैः ॥

†† The Sanskrit has Bala.

Gandhervas, saints,* sages,† and serpents, finding, therefore, their real character, he thus saluted the eternal deity, who consists of true existence:

Salutation to thee, who art uniform and manifold, radiating, supreme spirit, of inconceivable glory, and who art simple existence!§ Salutation to thee, O inscrutable, who art truth, and the essence of oblations! Salutation to thee, O lord, whose nature is unknown, who art beyond primeval matter, who existest in five forms,** as one with the elements, with the faculties,** with matter, with the living soul, with supreme spirit!†† Show favour (to me), O soul of the universe, essence of all things, perishable or eternal, whether addressed by the designation of Brahmá, Vishnú, Śiva, or the like. I adore thee, O god,‡ whose nature is indescribable, whose purposes are inscrutable, whose name, even, is unknown:§§ for the at-

* *Muni.*

† *Siddha.*

तुष्टाव सर्वविज्ञानमयमच्युतमोश्चरम् ।

§ अकूर उवाच ।

सन्मात्ररूपिणेऽचिन्त्यमहिम्ने परमात्मने ।

व्यापिने नैकरूपैकस्वरूपाय नमो नमः ॥

Haris.

* See Vol. I., p. 2, note 1, where this passage is referred to and enlarged on.

** *Indriya.*

†† *Atman* and *paramátman*. The first is the same as *jivátman*. See Vol. IV., p. 253, note *.

‡ *Parameśvara.*

§§ *अनाख्येयाभिधान*. *Abhidhāna* here takes the place of the more ordinary *nāman*, the term rendered "appellation", just below. See Vol. IV., p. 346, supplement to p. 267, note *.

tributes of appellation or 'kind' * are not ap-
 to thee, who art THAT,¹ the supreme Brahm
 unchangeable, uncreated.† But, as the ap-
 ment of our objects cannot be retained exce
 some specific form,‡ thou art termed, by us
 Achyuta, Ananta, or Vishnu. § Thou, unborn
 art all the objects of these impersonations
 the gods, and all other beings; thou art
 world; thou art all. Soul of the universe, thou art
 exempt from change; and there is nothing except thee
 in all this existence. Thou art Brahmá. Paśupati. Ar-
 aman, Dhátrí, and Vidhátrí; ¶ thou art Indra. ** air,
 fire, the regent of the waters, †† the god of wealth. ‡‡ and
 judge of the dead; §§ and thou, although but one, pre-
 sident over the world, with various energies addressed
 to various purposes. Thou, identical with the solar
 ray, createst the universe; all elementary substance is

¹ Tad, 'that'; all that is, or that can be conceived.

* It should seem, from a collation of passages, that *jāti*, the expres-
 sion here used, is synonymous with *rūpa*. Do *nāman* and *jāti* signify
 'genus' and 'species'? See Vol. II., p. 328, text and note ‡; and p. 337,
 supplementary note to p. 59, l. 8.

† *Aja*.

‡ कल्पनामृते ।

§ ततः कृष्णायुतानन्तविष्णुसंज्ञाभिरीड्यसे ।

Corrected from "Aryaman".

¶ Dhátrí and Vidhátrí are said to be Brahmá as protector and creator.
 See Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 191. In lieu of Dhátrí.
 some MSS. yield Vishnu.

** To represent *tridasapati*, 'lord of the gods.'

†† *Toyesa*: Varúṇa, to-wit.

‡‡ *Dhana-pati*: namely, Kubera.

§§ The original yields Antakā, who is one with Yama. See Vol. II.,
 p. 216, note 1.

d of thy qualities; and thy supreme form is by the imperishable term SAT (existence). who is one with true knowledge; who is, and receptible, * I bow. Glory be to him, the lord a to Sankarshaṇa, to Pradyumna, and to Ani-

¹ Akṛura's piety is, here, prophetic: the son and grandson of Kṛishṇa (see Vol. IV., p. 112.) are not yet born. But this is the Vaiṣṇava style of addressing Kṛishṇa, or Vishṇu, as identical with four Vyūhas, — 'arrangements' or 'dispositions'. — Kṛishṇa, Balarama, Pradyumna, and Aniruddha.† See the Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI., p. 35. In this, as in several other places, the Vishṇu Purāṇa differs from some of the other narratives of Kṛishṇa, by the length and character of the prayers addressed to Vishṇu. The Hari Vaṁśa, for instance, here has no prayer or panegyric at all; the Bhāgavata inserts one.

* *Sat* and *asat*, 'real' and 'unreal'.

† Ratnagarbha, one of the commentators on the *Vishṇu-purāṇa*, refers, to a similar purport, to the *Mahābhārata*. The passage intended is, apparently, in the *Sānti-parvan*, — *l.* 12888, *et seq.*

‡ Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., p. 45.

CHAPTER XIX.

Akrúra conveys Kṛishná and Ráma near to Mathura; them: they enter the town. Insolence of Káṁsa's Kṛishná kills him. Civility of a flower-seller: I him his benediction.

THUS, the Yádava (Akrúra), standing i
praised Kṛishná, and worshipped him with
incense and flowers. Disregarding (all) other objects,
he fixed his (whole) mind upon the deity; and, having
continued, for a long time, in spiritual contemplation, †
he (at last,) desisted from his abstraction, conceiving
he had effected the purposes of soul.‡ Coming up from
the water of the Yamuná, he went to the car; and
there he beheld Ráma and Kṛishná, seated as before.
As his looks denoted surprise, Kṛishná said to him:
“Surely, Akrúra, you have seen some marvel in the
stream of the Yamuná; for your eyes are staring, as
if with astonishment.” Akrúra replied: “The marvel
that I have seen in the stream of the Yamuna I behold
before me, even here, in a bodily shape; for he whom
I have encountered in the water, Kṛishná, is, also,
your wondrous self, of whose illustrious person the
whole world is the miraculous development.§ But

* *Mano-maya.*

† *Brahma-bhúta.*

• : हतकृत्यमिवात्मानं मन्यमानो महामतिः ।

This is in the same stanza with what immediately follows, and should have been connected with it, in the translation.

§ जगदेतन्महासूर्यं रूपं यस्मै महात्मनः ।

तेनाश्चर्यवरेणाहं भवता कृष्ण संगतः ॥

of this. Let us proceed to Mathurá. I am un-
satisfied will be angry at our delay: such is the
consequence of eating the bread of another.”*

Asking, he urged on the quick† horses; and
arrived, after sunset, at Mathurá. When they
came in sight of the city, Akrūra said to Kṛishṇa and
Rāma. “You must now journey on foot, whilst I pro-
ceed alone in the car. And you must not go to the
house of Vasudeva; for the elder has been banished,
by Kāṁsa, on your account.”

Akrūra, having thus spoken, left them, and entered
the city: whilst Rāma and Kṛishṇa continued to walk
along the royal road. Regarded, with pleasure, by
men and women, they went along sportively, looking
like two young elephants. As they roamed about,
they saw a washerman‡ colouring clothes; and, with
smiling countenances, they went and threw down
some of his fine linen.¶ The washerman was the
servant of Kāṁsa, made insolent by his master's fa-
vour;¶ and he provoked the two lads with loud and

• तत्किमेतेन मधुरां ब्रजामो मधुसूदन ।
विभेमि कंसाद्विग्नान् परपिच्छोपवीविनाम् ॥

† Vāta-rāiṇhas.

: पद्भ्यां यातं महावीर्यो रथेनैको विशाम्यहम् ।

§ Rajaka. From the context the word seems to denote a dyer.

• । । अयाचेतां सुकृपाणि वासांसि हचिराननी ।

The lads did not ‘throw down some of his fine linen’, but asked
him for it.

हचिराणि ती is the reading preferred by the commentator Ratna-
garbha; हचिराननी, that accepted by Śrīdhara: and neither of them
mentions that of the other.

¶ कंसस्य रजकः सोऽथ प्रसादाच्छविष्यतः ।

Instead of. प्रसादा°, some MSS. have प्रसादा°.

scurrilous abuse, until Kṛishṇa struck him d his head to the ground, and killed him. T the clothes, they went their way, clad in blue raiment, until they came to a flower-se The flower-seller looked at them with as and wondered who they could be, or w could have come. Seeing two youths so lov in yellow and blue garments, he imagined divinities descended upon earth. Being a them with mouths budding like lotoses, at some flowers, he placed his hands upon the ground, and touched it with his head, saying: "My lords have shown me great kindness, in coming to my house,*— fortunate that I am. I will pay them homage." Having thus spoken, the flower-seller, with a smiling aspect, gave them whatever choice flowers they selected, to conciliate their favour. Repeatedly prostrating† himself before them, he presented them with flowers, beautiful, fragrant, and fresh.‡ Kṛishṇa, then, being much pleased with him, gave him this blessing: "Fortune, good friend, who depends upon me, shall never forsake you. Never shall you suffer loss of vigour or loss of wealth. As long as time shall last, your descendants shall not fail.§ Having long tasted various de-

• प्रसादपरमी नाथी मम गेहमुपागतौ ।

*† प्रणम्य, which implies nothing more than a respectful inclination of the head and uplifting of the hands.

‡ Anala.

§ यावद्दिवानि तावच्च न नशिष्यति संततिः ।

This lection, Ratnagarbha's, is the one followed by the Translator. Śrīdhara's and that of nearly all my best MSS. begins the verse with the words यावत्त्वहाम ।

(on earth), you shall, finally, obtain, by calling collection, a heavenly region, the consequence of your devotion. Your heart shall ever be intent on duty; and fulness of days shall be the portion of your posterity. Your descendants shall not be subject to natural infirmities, as long as the sun shall endure. Having thus spoken, Kṛishṇa and Rāma,† worked by the flower-seller, went forth from his dwelling.¹

¹ These incidents are told, with some unimportant differences, in the other accounts of Kṛishṇa's youth.

* नोपसर्गादिकं दोषं युष्मत्संततिसंभवः ।
संप्राप्स्यति महाभाग यावत्सूर्यो धरिष्यति ॥

† Baladeva, in the original.

CHAPTER XX.

Kṛishṇa and Balarāma meet Kubyā; she is made out former: they proceed to the palace. Kṛishṇa br intended for a trial of arms. Kāṁsa's orders to Public games. Kṛishṇa and his brother enter the former wrestles with Chāñúra, the latter, with M king's wrestlers, who are, both, killed. Kṛishṇa slays Kāṁsa: he and Balarāma do homage to V Devakī: the former praises Kṛishṇa.

AS they proceeded along the high road, they saw coming (towards them) a young girl, who was crooked, carrying a pot of unguent. Kṛishṇa addressed her sportively, and said: "For whom are you carrying that unguent? Tell me, lovely maiden;* tell me truly." Spoken to as it were through affection, Kubyā,† well disposed towards Hari, replied to him also mirthfully, being smitten by his appearance: "Know you not, beloved, that I am the servant of Kāṁsa, and appointed, crooked as I am, to prepare his perfumes?‡ Unguent ground by any other he does not approve of: hence I am enriched through his liberal rewards." Then said Kṛishṇa: "Fair-faced damsel, give us of this unguent,—

* *Indivara-lochanā*.

† No proper name, here and near the top of the next page, but "the deformed girl". The word *kubyā* is rendered "crooked", above.

‡ कान्त कस्यान्न जानासि कंसेनाभिनियोजिताम् ।

नैकवक्त्रेति विख्यातामनुलेपनकर्मणि ॥

The name of the damsel, we are thus told, was Naikavakrā. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X., Prior Section, XLII., 3, her name appears as Trivakrā. She was so called, the commentator Śridhara remarks, because triply deformed,—namely, in the neck, in the chest, and in the waist.

front, and fit for kings,—as much as we may rub
 r bodies.” “Take it,” answered Kujā. And
 e them as much of the unguent as was suf-
 or their persons. And they rubbed it on va-
 ts of their faces and bodies,¹ till they* looked
 o clouds, one white and one black, decorated
 many-tinted bow of Indra. Then Kṛishṇa,†
 skill. n the curative art, took hold of her, under the
 chin, with the thumb and two fingers, and lifted up
 her head, whilst, with his feet, he pressed down her
 feet; and, in this way, he made her straight. When
 she was thus relieved from her deformity, she was a
 most beautiful woman;‡ and, filled with gratitude and
 affection, she took Govinda by the garment, and invited
 him to her house. Promising to come at some other
 time, Kṛishṇa§ smilingly dismissed her, and then

¹ They had their bodies smeared in the style called Bha-
 ktichheda (भक्तिच्छेदानुलिप्ताङ्गी); that is, with the separating
 or distinguishing (chheda) marks of Vaishṇava devotion (bhakti),—
 certain streaks on the forehead, nose, cheeks, breast, and arms,
 which denote a follower of Vishṇu. See the Asiatic Researches,
 Vol. XVI., p. 33. ||

* The original here gives them the epithet *purusharshabha*.

† Śauri, in the Sanskrit. See the original in the next annotation

‡ ततस्तां चिबुके शीरिषलापनविधानवित् ।
 उत्पद्य तोलयामास ब्रह्मलेनायपाणिना ॥
 चकर्ष पद्मां च तथा च्छुत्वं केशवोऽनयत् ।
 ततः सा च्छुतां प्राप्ता योषितामभवद्वरा ॥

For some of the additions to the literal sense of the original, the
 Translator has drawn on Śridhara.

§ The Sanskrit has Hari.

|| Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., p. 41.

laughed aloud, on beholding the countenance
deva.^{1*}

Dressed in blue and yellow garments, and
with fragrant unguents, † Keśava and Rāma
to the hall of arms, which was hung round
lands.‡ Inquiring of the warders which bow
to try, and being directed to it, he took it.
§ But, drawing it with violence, he snapt
two;² and all Mathurá resounded with the noise
its fracture occasioned. Abused by the youths
breaking the bow, Kṛishṇa and Rāma retorted, and de-
fied them, and left the hall. ||

When Kāṁsa knew that Akṛura had returned, and
heard that the bow had been broken, he thus said to
Chānūra and Mushtika, (his boxers): "Two youths,
cowherd boys, have arrived. You must kill them both,
in a trial of strength, ¶ in my presence; for they prac-

* The story is similarly told in the Bhāgavata, &c.

² The bending or breaking of a bow is a favourite incident
in Hindu heroic poetry; borrowed, no doubt, from the Rāmā-
yaṇa, where, however, it has an object: here it is quite gratuitous.

* Rāma, in the original.

† भक्तिच्छेदानुलिप्ताङ्गी । See note 1 in the preceding page.

‡ According to the original, in all my MSS., &c., the youths, not the
hall, were thus adorned.

§ आयोगं च धनुरत्नं ताभ्यां पृष्ट्वं रश्मिभिः ।

आख्यातं सहसा कृष्णो गृहीत्वापूरयन्ननुः ॥

Instead of आयोगं च, the lection of Śrīdhara, Ratnagarbhā has
आयोगवत्, and says that we here have the name of the bow, Ayogava.
The commentators mention and explain other readings; and my MSS.
supply still more.

¶ रश्मिभ्यं निष्कलोभी निष्क्रान्ती कार्मुकाख्यात ।

¶ Malla-yuddha. See note ¶ in p. 39, *infra*.

rise against my life. I shall be well pleased if you kill them in the match, and will give you whatever you desire, or else. These two foes of mine must be killed fairly or unfairly. The kingdom shall be ours when they have perished." Having given these orders, he sent, next, for his elephant-keeper, and desired him to station his (great) elephant, *dhuvāpīda*,—who was as vast as a cloud charged with rain,—near the gate of the arena, and drive him upon the two boys, when they should attempt to enter.* When Kāṁsa had issued these commands, and ascertained that the platforms were all ready (for the spectators), he awaited the rising of the sun, unconscious of impending death.†

In the morning, the citizens assembled on the platforms set apart for them; and the princes, with the ministers and courtiers, occupied the royal seats. Near the centre of the circle, judges of the games§ were stationed by Kāṁsa, whilst he himself sat apart, close by, upon a lofty throne. Separate platforms were erected for the ladies of the palace, for the

* प्रोवाचोद्यैस्त्वया मङ्गसमाजदारि कुञ्जरः ।

स्थाप्यः कुवलययापीडसेन तौ गोपदारकौ ॥

Instead of *मङ्ग*, there occurs, as a common variant, the lection accepted by Śrīdhara, *मेऽद्य* । This, mistaken for *मेघ*, with the supposition that *त्वया* was misread *तोय*, is the only ground that I have discovered for the Translator's clause "who was as vast as a cloud charged with rain."

† The original has *आसन्नमरणः*, which only implies that his death was near, not that he knew it to be so.

‡ These two words are to represent *amātya*. *Bhṛitya*, 'dependants', is a variant.

§ मङ्गप्रान्निक्वर्गः । Variant: मङ्गपान्निक्वर्गः ।

Antalipura.

courtesans,* and for the wives of the citize
and the cowherds had places appropriated

¹ The Bhāgavata enters into even fewer particu-
text, of the place set apart for the games. The
gives a much more detailed description, which is,
spect, curious. The want of any technical glossary
neral manner in which technical terms are explained
nary dictionaries, render it difficult to understand
is intended; and any translation of the passages mu-
ive. The French version,† however, probably presents a
much more splendid and theatrical scene than the text authorizes,
and may, therefore, admit of correction. The general plan is
nothing more than an enclosed space, surrounded by temporary
structures of timber or bamboos, open or enclosed, and decorated
with hangings and garlands. It may be doubted if the details
described by the compiler of the Hari Vamśa were very familiar
even to him; for his description is not always very consistent or
precise. Of two commentators, one evidently knows nothing of
what he attempts to explain; but, with the assistance of the
other, the passages may be thus, though not always confidently,
rendered:

“The king, Kāmśa, meditating on these things, went forth,
from his palace, to the place which had been prepared for the
sight of the ceremonial(¹), to inspect the scaffolds(²) which had
been constructed. He found the place close set with the several
platforms(³) of the different public bodies(⁴), strongly put together,
and decorated with roofed pavilions of various sizes, supported
by columns, and divided into commodious chambers.(⁵) The edi-
fice was extensive,‡ well arranged, secured by strong rafters,(⁶)
spacious and lofty, and commodious and secure. Stairs led to
the different galleries.(⁷)§ Chairs of state(⁸) were placed in

* *Vāra-mukhyā*.

† M. Langlois's translation, Vol. I., pp. 354, 355, and pp. 362—364.

‡ *Swāyata*. Variant: *swāyuta*.

§ The translation of the last two sentences educes much more from
the original than even the commentaries warrant.

for her son,* whose lovely face she longed even in the hour of his destruction. When

When the meeting takes place, the site of the scene described: "Upon the following day, the amphitheatre filled by the citizens, anxious to behold the games of assembly⁽¹⁹⁾ was supported by octagonal painted pillars fitted up with terraces, and doors, and bolts, with wavy or crescent; shaped, and accommodated with cushions;⁽²¹⁾ and it shone like the ocean, whilst it hung upon it, with spacious, substantial pavilions,⁽²²⁾ fitted up for the sight of the combat; open to the front,⁽²³⁾ but screened with beautiful and fine curtains,⁽²⁴⁾ crowned with festoons of flowers, and glistening with radiance, like autumnal clouds. The pavilions† of the different companies and corporations, vast as mountains, were decorated with banners, bearing upon them the implements and emblems of the several crafts.⁽²⁵⁾ The chambers of the inhabitants of the inner apartments shone near at hand, bright with gold, and painting, and net-work of gems: they were richly decorated with precious stones, were enclosed below with costly hangings,⁽²⁶⁾ and ornamented above with spires and banners, and looked like mountains spreading their wings in the sky;

सुवासिता वपुष्मन्त उपनीतोत्तराक्षदः ।
क्रियन्तां मञ्चवाटाश्च वडम्भो वीथयस्तथा ॥
अश्ववाटे करीषस्य कल्पन्तां राशयोऽव्ययाः ।
घण्टाक्षोरणशीभाश्च बलयश्चानुरूपतः ॥
स्वायन्तां सुनिखाताश्च पानकुम्भा यथाक्रमम् ।
उद्भारसहाः सर्वे सकाक्षनघटोत्तराः ॥
बलयक्षोपकल्पन्तां कषायाश्चैव कुम्भशः ।
प्रान्तिकाश्च निमन्त्र्यन्तां त्रेखस्य सपुरोगमाः ॥
आज्ञा च देया मञ्चानां प्रेषकाणां तन्निव च ।
समाजे मञ्चवाटाश्च कल्पन्तां सूपकल्पिताः ॥

* पुषगुहिनी, which means that Devaki loved her son.

† Mancha; previously rendered "scaffolds"; "pavilions" being used to represent vadabhi or valabhi.

musical instruments sounded, Chānūra sprang forth, and the
cried "Alas!" and Mushfika slapped his arms

rays of light reflected from the valuable jewels were
with the waving of white chowries and the musical
agony of female ornaments. The separate pavilions of the
cesans were graced by lovely women, attired in the most
solid dresses, (27) and emulated the radiance of the cars of the
gods. In the place of assembly there were excellent seats,
couches made of gold, and hangings of various colours, inter-
mixed with bunches of flowers; and there were golden vases of
water, and handsome places for refreshment, filled with fruits of
various kinds, and cooling juices, and sherbets fit for drink-
ing. (28) And there were many other stages and platforms,*
constructed of strong timber; and hangings, by hundreds and
thousands, were displayed; and, upon the tops of the houses,
chambers (29) fitted up with delicate jalousies, through which the
women might behold the sports, appeared like swans flying
through the air.

"In front stood the pavilion of Kāṁsa, surpassing all the rest
in splendour, looking like Mount Meru, in radiance; its sides, its
columns, being covered with burnished gold; fastened with
coloured cords, and every way worthy the presence of a king." †

* These two substantives are to render *mancha*. See note † in the
preceding page.

† *Ikṣvāṁsa*, *Sl.* 4642—4656:

तस्मिन्नहनि निर्वृत्ते द्वितीये समुपस्थिते ।
आपूर्यत महारङ्गः पीरियुद्धदिदृशुमि ॥
सचित्राष्टासिचरणः सार्गलक्षारवेदिकः ।
सगवाक्षार्धचन्द्रश्च सतलोत्तमभूषितः ॥
प्राङ्मुखेखाब्निर्मुक्तीर्माख्यदामावतंसितः ।
अलङ्घ्यतेर्निर्दाजज्ञिः शारदैरिव तोयदैः ॥
मञ्चागारैः सुनिर्मुक्तैर्युद्धाय सुविभूषितैः ।
समाजवाटः शुशुभे समेघौघ इवार्णवः ॥
स्वकर्मद्रव्ययुक्ताभिः पताकाभिर्निरन्तरम् ।
श्रेणीनां च गणानां च मञ्चा भीक्ष्वचलोपमाः ॥

in defiance. Covered with must* and blo
elephant, whom, when goaded upon t

In justification of the rendering of the above, *am*
of the technical terms, taken either from dictionaries
commentators,† may be subjoined. (1) *Kaṁsa* went
kṣhāgāra (प्रेक्षागार), literally, 'house of seeing'; b
dent, from its interior being visible to spectators on t
the houses,—as subsequently mentioned,—that it w:

अन्तःपुरगतानां च प्रेक्षागाराख्यनेकशः ।
रेजुः काञ्चनचिचाणि रत्नज्वालाकुलानि च ॥
तानि रत्नीषङ्गुत्तानि ससानुप्रगुहाणि च ।
रेजुर्वनिवासैः सपत्न्या इव खे नगाः ॥
तत्र चामरहासैश्च भूषणानां च शिञ्जितैः ।
मणीनां च वराह्याणां विचित्राश्चरचिषः ॥
गणिकानां पृथङ्गुहाः शुभिरास्तरणाम्बरैः ।
शोभिता वारमुख्याभिर्विमानप्रतिभीजसः ॥
तत्रासनानि मुख्यानि पर्यङ्काश्च हिरण्मयाः ।
प्रकीर्णाश्च कुशाश्चित्राः सपुष्पस्तवद्रुमाः ॥
सौवर्णाः पानकुम्भाश्च पानभूम्यश्च शोभिताः ।
फलावदंशपूर्णश्च चाङ्गेर्यः पानयोजिताः ॥
अन्ये च मञ्चा बहवः काष्ठसंचयबन्धनाः ।
रेजुः प्रस्तरणास्तत्र शतशोऽथ सहस्रशः ॥
उत्तरागारिकाश्चान्ये सूक्ष्मजालावलोकितः ।
स्त्रीणां प्रेक्षागृहा भान्ति राजहंसा इवाम्बरैः ॥
प्राङ्मुखश्चाह्निर्युक्तो मेघशुक्लसमप्रभः ।
इवमपन्नभिस्तत्त्वश्चिन्नयोर्योगशोभितः ॥
प्रेक्षागारः स कंसस्य प्रचकाशेऽधिकं श्रिया ।
शोभितो माल्यदामैश्च निवासकृतलक्षणः ॥

* This word, a popularized form of the Persian *mast*, *مست*, is here
used to translate *mada*, the ichor which exudes from the temples of a
cutting elephant. *Mast* is an adjective, signifying 'proud', 'in rut'.

† Nilakaṁṭha and Arjuna Miśra. To the scantlings of scholia, adduced
in the following pages, that are taken from the former, I have annexed
his name. The remaining elucidations which Professor Wilson indicates
to be commentatorial are derived from the latter.

they had slain, and armed with his tusks, Ba-
and Janārdana confidently* entered the arena,

e, or covered edifice. If a building at all, it was merely
: of stockade. One commentator † calls it “a place made
for seeing the sacrifice”: धनुर्महप्रेषणार्थं कृतं स्थानम् । (2) Manchā-
nām avalokakalī (मञ्चानामवलोककः). The Mancha is commonly
understood to signify a raised platform, with a floor and a roof,
ascended by a ladder: see Dictionary‡. (3) Mancha-vāṭa (मञ्चवाटः).
Vāṭa is either ‘site’ or ‘inclosure,’ and is used, here, without
much affecting the sense of Mancha. The compound is explained,
by the commentators,; ‘prepared places’ (रचितभूमयः), or ‘the
sites of the platforms’ (मञ्चभूमयः). (4) The Śreṇis (श्रेणीनां), as-
sociations of artificers practising the same art. One of the com-
mentaries understands the term to be here used to denote, not
their station, but their labours: “The structure was the work of
the artificers” (प्रयत्नं श्रेणीनाम्). (5) Several words occur, here,
of technical import. The passage is: 3777

सोत्तमागारयुक्ताभिर्वलभीभिर्विभूषितम् । §

कुटीभिश्च प्रवृद्धाभिरैकस्तम्भैश्च भूषितम् ॥

Valabhi is said, by the commentator, to mean a structure with a
pent roof, supported by six columns; Kutī, a circular one, having
seven roofs (something, perhaps, like a Chinese pagoda,) and
four columns. The Eka-stambha is a chamber, supported by
one column: वलभीभिर्विभूषितो नमत्यश्वाभिरह्दीभिः प्रवृद्धाभिः ।
कुटीभिश्च प्रवृद्धाभिः कोष्ठकैः सप्तच्छदिकैस्तुलसीः ॥ (6) Sāraṇirvyūha

* शर्वसीलाविलोकिता ।

† Nilakaṇṭha.

‡ The ensuing definitions I find in Arjuna Miśra only.

§ Some MSS. begin this line with उत्तरागारम् .

|| What is meant, here, as the first sentence is from Nilakaṇṭha, who
therein explains, first, वलभीभिः, and then अह्दीभिः, which he reads
instead of कुटीभिः. The rest of the Sanskrit, giving a definition of
the latter term, is, perhaps, altered from the same commentator.

like two lions amidst (a herd of) deer. Exc
of pity arose from all the spectators, along

(सारनिर्व्यूह). * It is difficult to understand the necessity in an inclosure in which the platforms and stages seen been erected independently of any floor or wall; but commentary† explains Nirvyūha, "strong brackets, projected a house:" सारनिर्व्यूहं वृढं नागदन्तां गृहान्निर्गतदारुभा (७) (Aśliṣṭā-sūliṣṭā-mañchārōhaṇam. The first epithet is explained, 'not contracted' (असंकुचितम्);‡ the second, 'well constructed' (साधुरचितम्); and, for the 'ascending' (Ārohaṇam), we have सोपानपङ्क्तिर्यच्च 'where was a line of steps' or 'ladders'. There is another reading of the text, however, which may be rendered: "Having steps well secured in their ascent above" (उदक्प्रवणमुत्थिष्टं मञ्जारोहणम्). (८) 'Seats for kings' (नृपास-नानि॥). (९) Such is the literal purport of Sanchāra-patha-sankula (संचारपथसंकुल); implying, possibly, the formation of passages by fences on either side. (१०) This is, doubtful. The phrase is (छन्नं तदेदिकाभिः) Chhannam tad-vedikābhiḥ. Chhanna means, literally, 'covered,' and can scarcely be used in the sense of 'overspread' or 'filled with.' Vedikā means an elevated floor or terrace, with which a hall or edifice cannot well be 'covered,' and, therefore, requires the sense here given to Chhanna. The commentators are silent. (११) The Manchavāṭas and Valabbis, as above. The other term is Vīthi, 'a shop,' 'a stall,' 'a terrace,' 'a road.' (१२) Let them be Vapushmantah (वपुष्मन्तः), "having painted or sculptured figures" (चित्रपुष्पादियुक्ताः). ¶ The other

* I have altered, here and below, "nirvyūha", and the same form in Sanskrit. सारनिर्व्यूह is a variant.

† Nilakanṭha's.

‡ Nilakanṭha's explanation of असंकुचितम्।

§ उदक्प्रवणमुत्थिष्टं—the reading of Arjuna Miśra,—and उदयास्तिष्ट-मुत्थिष्ट are further variants that I find.

¶ See the original, at the foot of p. 26, *supra*.

¶ Nilakanṭha.

persons of astonishment. "This, then," said the
"is Kṛishṇa. This is Balabhadra. This is he

renders it merely 'pleasant' or 'agreeable' (सुहृणीयाः).
and doove with cloths' (उपनीतोत्तरच्छदः). The use of
ning or Shamiyāna is very common in India. (14) For the
ers to rub over their bodies, to absorb the perspiration
नां सिदापमार्जनार्थम्). (15) This is, all, rather questionable.
The passage is, most usually:

घटान्तोरणशोभाश्च वलयश्चानुरूपतः ।

Vali, or Bali, in one sense, means 'the edge of a thatch,' and
may be put for some sort of temporary structure,—a kind of re-
tiring or refreshment-room for the boxers and wrestlers. In some
copies, it is read **घटान्तोरणशोभाः**, "beautiful with cloths spread,"
on which the performers may sit, when disengaged; perhaps, a
sort of carpet on the ground. (16) The expression is, again, Vali
(वलयश्चोपकल्प्यन्ताम्). Another sense of the word is "offering
of viands, or of the remains of a sacrifice, to all beings;"* but
that cannot be its purport here: nor is it ever used in the sense
of viands in general. The verb Kalp or Kṛip also usually implies
making'. (17) Manchavāta † 'in the Samāja' or 'assembly'.
(18) Mahāranga (महारङ्ग), "the great place of the performance."
Ranga is 'acting' or 'representation'; also, the place or site of
it. (19) All the copies consulted, except one, offer an irregularity
of construction, which, although defended by the commentators,
is a license scarcely allowable. The epithets of the first verse
are, all, in the plural number; they then occur in the singular,
to agree with the only substantive in the description, Samājavāta.
According to the commentaries, the plural term Manchāh (मन्चाः)
understood is the substantive to the epithets of the first stanza;
and Samājavāta (the singular), to those of the other verses.
This awkwardness is, however, avoided by the reading of an old
and very good copy, which puts it, all, in the singular;‡ as:

* See Vol. III., p. 118, and p. 220, note 1.

† To render "platforms". My oldest MS. has **मन्चशोभाः** ।

‡ So do the Calcutta edition of the *Harivamśa*, my oldest MS., and,
so far as I know them, MSS. generally.

by whom the fierce night-walker Pútaná was
by whom the waggon was overturned, and

सचिचाष्टास्त्रिचरणः सार्गलद्वारवेदिकः ।

सगवासार्धचन्द्रश्च सतलोत्तमभूषितः ॥

(²⁰) The expression is Charaṇa; literally, 'foot;' expl. the commentator, † Stambha, 'post' or 'pillar'. (²¹) The of most of the copies is Śayanottama (श्यनोत्तम), which taken as the sense of Talottama, 'couches or benches with cushions.' (²²) Manchāgarailī (मञ्चागारिः), 'temporary houses.' (²³) Or, 'fronting to the east' (प्राङ्मुखैः); (²⁴) Nirmuktailī (निर्मुक्तैः); explained, by the commentator, § to mean 'fine threads', 'net-work', or 'gauze', through which persons, females especially, may see, without being seen. (²⁵) स्वकर्मद्रव्ययुक्ताभिः पताकाभिः । (²⁶) "With ridges and projections" (ससानुप्रगृहाणि). The commentator || explains this: "with flags on the top of them" (उपरिदेशे सपताकानि). (²⁷) This appears to be intended for an epithet of the women; although Āstaraṇa is not usually applied to dress:

आस्तरणाश्वरैः शोभिता वारमुख्याभिः १॥

(²⁸) फलावदंशपूर्णश्च चाङ्गेर्यः पानयोजिताः ।

Phala, of course, is 'fruit'. Avadamśa is explained, in lexicons, "what is eaten to excite thirst;" one comment** gives it, "what may be sucked," as tamarinds and the like. Chāngerī is explained "fluids for drinking; made with sorrel or acid fruits"; that is, sherbets. (²⁹) उत्तमागारिकाः or उत्तरागारिकाः is an epithet of the Prekshāgāra, †† or look-out house of the women (स्त्रीणां प्रेक्षागृहाः), situated on the tops of their houses, according

* See Vol. IV, p. 276.

† ?

‡ Nilakantha.

§ Idem.

|| Idem.

¶ Parts of two lines. See the original, in p. 29, *supra*

** Nilakantha's.

†† The original exhibits the plural, as does the translation which Professor Wilson here annotates.

the trees felled.* This is the boy who trampled
 on the serpent Kāliya;† who upheld the
 Govardhana for seven nights;‡ who killed,
 May, the iniquitous Arishṭa,§ Dhenuka, and
 This, whom we see, is Achyuta.** This is he
 as been foretold by the wise, skilled in the sense
 of the Purāṇas, as Gopāla, who shall exalt the de-
 pressed Yādava race. This is a portion of the all-
 existent, †† all-generating Vishṇu, descended upon earth,

to the commentators;‡‡ गृहोपरि गृहं यत्तदुत्तमागारं तच्चभवाः

प्रेक्षागृहाः an arrangement very compatible with the
 form of Indian houses, which have flat roofs, commonly enclosed
 by a trellis-work or jalousie of masonry.§§ It is observable,
 that, in the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and in the Mahābhārata, on various
 public occasions, the women take their places on the platforms,
 or in the pavilions, without curtains or screens.

* See Vol. IV., pp. 279 and 281.

† *Ibid.*, p. 291.

‡ *Ibid.*, pp. 315, 316.

§ *Ibid.*, pp. 333, 334.

Ibid., pp. 297, 298.

• *Ibid.*, p. 340.

** Here the original, according to all my MSS., &c., has the following
 stanza, unrendered by the Translator, as in his Hindu-made version:

अयं चास्त्रमहाबाहुर्बलभद्रोऽयञ्जोऽयतः ।

प्रयाति लीलया योषिन्ननोनयमनन्दनः ॥

Both the commentators recognize these verses, and Ratnagarbha ex-
 pounds them.

†† *Sarva-bhūta*. Ratnagarbha explains it by *sarvātman*.

‡‡ The words quoted are Nilakaṇṭha's. Arjuna Miśra has something
 different.

§§ Professor Wilson's translation of the two passages quoted in pp. 25,
 26, and pp. 27, 28, *supra*, and his notes on the same, have suggested
 numerous remarks which I have withheld; the subject of this episodic
 matter not being one with which the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* is very intimately
 connected.

‘who, will, assuredly, lighten her load.’ The citizens describe Rāma and Kṛishṇa as so appeared: whilst the breast of Devakī gl maternal affection;* and Vasudeva, forgetting firmities, felt himself young (again), on beh countenances of his sons as a season of rejoice women of the palace, and the wives of the wide opened their eyes, and gazed intently Kṛishṇa.† “Look, friends,” said they to their companions; “look at the face of Kṛishṇa. His eyes are reddened by his conflict with the elephant; and the drops of perspiration stand upon his cheeks, outvying a full-blown lotos in autumn, studded with glittering dew. Avail yourself, now, of the faculty of vision. Observe his breast,—the seat of splendour, marked with the mystic sign,§—and his arms, menacing destruction to his foes. Do you not notice Balabhadra, dressed in a blue garment,—his countenance as fair as the jasmine, as the moon, as the fibres of the lotos-stem? See how he gently smiles at the gestures of Mushṭika and Chānūra, as they spring up. And now behold Hari advance to encounter Chānūra. What! Are there no elders, judges of the field? How can he delicate form of Hari,—only yet in the dawn of

उरसाताप देवक्याः स्नेहसुतपयोधरम् ।

Here we have an expression of the idea, that, when a woman is deeply moved in her maternal feelings, she experiences a secretion of milk.

† द्रष्टुं न विरराम तम् ।

‡ This sentence is somewhat interpolated, and otherwise freely rendered *vas-yāya*, as appears from the context, here means, as the commentators interpret it, ‘hoar-frost,’ rather than ‘dew’.

§ To render *śrīvatsa*. See Vol. IV., p. 268.

¶ *Yukta-kārin*.

scence,—be regarded as a match for the vast and
 fine bulk of the great demon?* Two youths,
 and elegant persons, are in the arena, to op-
 phletic fiends, headed by the cruel Chánúra.†
 a great sin: in the judges of the games, for
 aspires to suffer a contest between boys and
 strong men.”

As thus the women of the city conversed (with one
 another), Hari, having tightened his girdle, danced in
 the ring, shaking the ground (on which he trod). Ba-
 labhadra, also, danced, slapping his arms in defiance.
 Where the ground was firm, the invincible Kṛishna
 contended, foot to foot, with Chánúra. The practised
 demon Mushṭika was opposed by Balabhadra. Mu-
 tually entwining, and pushing, and pulling, and beating
 each other with fists, arms, and elbows, pressing each
 other with their knees, interlacing their arms, kicking
 with their feet, pressing with their whole weight upon
 one another,‡ fought Hari and Chánúra. Desperate

* The terms here used are technical, and refer to the estab-
 lished modes of wrestling amongst Hindu athletes. § 1. Sami-
 pāta (संनिपात) is described “mutual laying hold of.” 2. Ava-
 dhūta (अवधूत), “letting go of the adversary.” 3. Kshepāṇa
 (क्षेपण) “pulling to and casting back.” 4. Mushṭi-nipāta (मुष्टि-

* क्व वज्रकण्ठिनाभोगिशरीरोऽयं महासुरः ।

† इमी सुललितौ रङ्गे वर्तेते नवयौवनी ।

‡ देतेयमन्नाद्यायूरप्रमुखास्त्वतिदावणाः ॥

§ Vyatikrama.

§ The following definitions are taken from the two commentaries.

परस्परं संघेयः । Śūdhara. ‘Mutual onset’, परस्परं संघर्षः । Ratna-
 garbha.

was the struggle, though without weapons
for life and death, to the great gratification

निपात). * "striking with fists." 5. Kila-nipātana (कीलनिपात),
"striking with the elbow." 6. Vajra-nipātana (वज्रनिपात),
"striking with the fore-arm." † 7. Jānu-nirghāta (जानुनिर्घात),
"pressing or striking with the knees." 8. Bālu-vighaṭṭana
विघट्टन), § "interlacing the arms." 9. Pādoddhūta (पादोद्धूत),
"kicking." ¶ 10. Prasrīṣṭā (प्रसृष्टा), "intertwining of the
body." In some copies, ** another term occurs, Āsma-nirghāta
(अश्मनिर्घात), "striking with stones," or "striking blows
hard as with stones;" for stones could scarcely be used in

* The original has no such term, but मुष्टिभिः, "with the fists."

† *Aratni-dwaya*. *Aratni* never, I believe, signifies "fore-arm"; at
the definition of the fifth technicality shows that it cannot bear the in-
port of 'elbow', its more ordinary signification, when it does not deno-
mate a measure. Again, as it does not here mean 'fist',—one of a
senses,—it seems likely that it must denote the ulnar side of the han-
So, indeed, the term is explained by Arjuna Miśra, where he commen-
on the *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parvan*, sl. 15781. His words are: अरत्निना
करतलपार्श्वेन ।

‡ The Sanskrit has जानुभिः, simply. See note **, below.

§ I find a different reading. See note **, below. The Translator's de-
finition, which is conjectural, is little likely to be correct.

पद्मामुत्प्रेषणम् । परस्परं पादकृतोद्धूतनम् । Ratnagarbha.

¶ Variant: *prasrīṣṭa*.

** The subjoined verse is rejected, without remark, by Ratnagarbha
and is absent from my two old copies of the mere text, but occurs
though uncommented, in Śridhara's text, and in several of my MSS.

जानुभिश्चाश्मनिर्घातैस्तथा बाहुविघट्टितैः ।

Some excellent copies give, instead of अश्मनिर्घातैः, अश्मभि-
र्घातैः ।

Professor Wilson, when he accepted, in his translation, the seven-
and eighth technicalities, should have accepted *āsma-nirghāta*, als
which cannot be divorced from the other two, since it stands, in the
original, between them.

tators.* In proportion 'as the contest continued, Chánúra was gradually losing something of his original vigour,† and the wreath upon his head trembled with fury and distress;‡ whilst the world-compre-
hending Kṛishná wrestled with him as if but in sport. Finding Chánúra losing, and Kṛishná gaining, strength, Kámsa, furious with rage, commanded the music to cease. As soon as the drums and trumpets were silenced, a numerous band of heavenly instruments was heard in the sky;§ and the gods invisibly exclaimed: "Victory to Govinda! Keśava, kill the demon Chánúra!" Madhusúdana, having, for a long time, dallied with his adversary, at last lifted him up,

contest specified as "one without weapons" (अशस्त्रं * - युद्धम्). ¶

¶ Kṛishná contended with Chánúra, "who, through distress and anger, shook the flowers of his crest:"

खेदाञ्जलयत्ना कोपान्नजशेखरकेसरम् ।

The two last terms are explained: "the flower of the wreath on his head:" स्वशीर्षापीडभूतं पुष्पम् । **

अशस्त्रमतिघोरं तत्तथोर्युद्धं सुदारुणम् ।

बलप्राणविनिष्पाद्यं समाजोत्सवसंनिधी ॥

† प्राणहानिमवापांग्यां तावन्नावल्लवाल्लवम् ।

; Jagan-maya.

• § मृदङ्गादिषु तूर्येषु प्रतिषिद्धेषु तत्त्वज्ञात ।

खे संगतान्धवाद्यज्जदेवतूर्यास्त्रनेकशः ॥

As to the use of stones in the combat, which is designated as *astra*, we must suppose,—if the verse quoted above has not been foisted into the text,—that the term *śastra*, embodied in this epithet, is employed technically, so as to comprehend those rude and ready missiles.

¶ See note *, above.

** Ratnagarbha.

and whirled him round, with the intention
 an end to him. Having whirled Chánúrá
 hundred times, until his breath was expen-
 air, Kríshná* dashed him on the ground, with
 violence as to smash his body into a hundred
 ments, and strew the earth with a hundred
 gory mire.† Whilst this took place, the mighty
 deva was engaged, in the same manner, with the demon
 bruiser,‡ Mushátika. Striking him on the head with his
 fists, and on the breast with his knees, he stretched
 him on the ground, and pummelled him there, till he
 was dead. Again, Kríshná encountered the royal
 bruiser§ Tosálaka, and felled him to the earth with
 a blow of his left hand. When the other athlete¶

* Called, in the original, not by his name, but by the epithet *amitrapt*.

† भूमावास्तोडितस्तेन चायूरः शतधा ब्रजन ।
 रक्तसावमहापङ्कां चकार शतधा भुवम् ॥

‡ Malla.

§ Malla-rāja, "prince of mallas". For *malla*, see note ¶, below.

¶ Corrected from "Tomalaka". Professor Wilson's MS. may have shown a broken स. Most copies yield Tosálaka, the reading, apparently, accepted by Ratnagarbha, and that of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, which has, likewise, the short form, Tośala. In very good MSS. of the *Hari-vamśa* I find Toshala and Toshalaka. Professor Wilson's Bengal translation has Salaka.

¶ Malla; which Professor Wilson renders, indifferently, by "athlete", "boxer", and "bruiser". The last two terms are inadequate, while the first is inadequate, as being much too wide for the occasion. 'Paneratiast', in an accommodated acceptation, may answer to represent *malla*, for the paneratiast fought nude, whereas it appears that his Hindu analogue contended clothed.

The fighting of Hari, Chánúra, and Baladeva clearly evinces, that the *malla-yuddha* corresponded to the classical *παρρησια* or *παρρησια*,—not, indeed, the regular agōnism, so much as the lawless description that was practised at Sparta,—the characteristic of which was a combination of boxing and wrestling.

Chánúra, Mushfika, and Tosalaka killed, they fled (the field); and Kṛishna and Sankarshana danced, and, on the arena, dragging along with them, the cowherds of their own age. Kamsa, his eyes glazing with wrath, called aloud to the surrounding people: "Drive those two cowboys out of the assembly: seize the villain Nanda; and secure him with chains of iron: put Vasudeva to death with tortures intolerable to his years: and lay hands upon the cattle, and whatever else belongs to those cowherds who are the associates of Kṛishna." 3777

Upon hearing these orders, the destroyer of Madhu laughed at Kamsa, and, springing up to the place

Nilakāṭha, commenting on the *Mahābhārata*, *Vana-parvan*, sl. 15779, quotes from some *Niti-sāstra*, as follows:

वामपाणिः कचोत्पीडा भूर्मा निष्पेषणं बलात् ।
 मूर्ध्नि पादग्रहरणं औगुणोदरमर्दनम् ॥
 मालूराकारया मुख्या कपोले दृढताडनम् ।
 कफोणिपातोऽप्यसक्तस्सर्वतस्तलताडनम् ।
 तालेन युद्धे भ्रामणं मारणं स्फुटमष्टधा ॥
 चतुर्भिः चत्विहं हन्यात्पञ्चभिः चत्त्रियाधमम् ।
 षड्विधैश्च सप्तभिस्तु शूद्रं संकरमष्टभिः ॥

It appears, from this, that the Hindu pancratium recognized eight modes of procedure: tearing out the hair, felling to the ground, kicking on the head, punching the belly with the knee, pommelling the cheeks with clenched fists, elbowing, slapping, and whirling round. Four of these modes of annoyance, counted from the first, are reckoned legitimate as against an ordinary Kshattriya; five, as against a reprobate or titular Kshattriya; six, as against a Vaiśya; seven, as against a Śudra; and all eight, as against an adversary of mixed extraction.

Our modern fancy have nothing to learn, on the score of humanity, from their Aryan predecessors of the ring, any more than from the roughs of Sparta, among whom even biting and scratching were not accounted foul play.

* *Harshita*, 'delighted.

† Insert 'the towns', *pur*.

where he was seated, laid hold of him by his head, and struck his tiara* to the ground casting him down upon the earth, Govindath† self upon him. Crushed by the weight of the of the universe, the son of Ugrasena (Kāṁsa), ‡ gave up the ghost. Kṛishṇa† then dragged the dead body, by the hair of the head, into the centre of the arena; and a deep furrow was made by the vast and heavy carcass of Kāṁsa, when it was dragged along the ground by Kṛishṇa, as if a torrent of water had run through it.¹ Seeing Kāṁsa thus treated, his brother Sunāman: came (to his succour): but he was encountered, and easily killed, by Balabhadra. Then arose a general cry of grief from the surrounding

¹ Et latus mediam sulcus diducit arenam. §

The yielding sand being furrowed into a ditch, or a water-course, by the dead bodies being dragged over it.

The text is:

गौरवेणातिमहता परिखा तेन कृष्यता ।
कृता कंसस्य देहेन वेगेनेव महाभ्रसः ॥

* *Kirita*.

† Madhusūdana, in the original.

‡ Corrected from "Sumālin". This mistake is easily accounted for. In Professor Wilson's favourite MS., which is carelessly transcribed, and has few of the copyist's inadvertencies corrected, we read:

सुमालिनामा बलभद्रेण लीलयेव निपातितः ।

Professor Wilson's Hindu-made version has Sumali.

By striking out the syllables -मालि, the verse is restored to its proper form. But the Translator, in due adherence to his copy, should have given the name as Sumālināman.

For Sunāman, see Vol. IV., p. 98.

§ This looks as if intended for Juvenal., Sat. I, 157:

Et latum media sulcum diducit arena.

¹ Literally: "By the trailing body of Kāṁsa, with its prodigious weight, a channel was made, as by the velocity of a great stream."

as they beheld the king of Mathurá* (thus), (and treated) with (such) contumely, by Kṛishṇa. Kṛishṇa, accompanied by Balabhadra, embraced the son of Vasudeva and of Devakī: but Vasudeva raised his head† and, he and Devakī recalling to recollection what he had said to them at his birth, they bowed to Janārdana; and the former thus addressed him: "Have compassion upon mortals, O god, benefactor,‡ and lord of deities. It is by thy favour to us two, that thou hast become the (present) upholder (of the world). That, for the punishment of the rebellious,§ thou hast descended (upon earth,) in my house, having been propitiated (by my prayers), sanctifies our race. Thou art the heart of all creatures; thou abidest in all creatures; and all that has been, or will be, emanates from thee, O universal spirit.¶ Thou, Achyuta, who comprehendest all the gods, art eternally worshipped with sacrifices: thou art sacrifice itself, and the offerer of sacrifices. The affection that inspires my heart, and the heart of Devakī, towards thee, as if thou wast our child, is, indeed, but error and a great delusion.** How shall the tongue of a mortal such as I am call thee the creator of all things, who is without beginning or

* See Vol. IV., p. 338.

† The original makes both the father and mother show him this honour:

उत्थाप्य वसुदेवं देवकी च जनार्दनम् ।

‡ Varada.

§ Durvitta.

¶ Anta.

¶ प्रवर्तते समस्तात्मस्वतो भूतभविष्यती ।

** सापह्वं मम मनो यदेतत्त्वयि जायते ।

देवक्याद्यात्मजप्रीत्या तदत्यन्तविडम्बना ॥

end, son? Is it consistent that the lord of
 from whom the world proceeds, should be
 except through illusion?* How should he, who
 all fixed and moveable things are contained,
 ceived in the womb, and born of a mortal be
 Have compassion, therefore, indeed. O supreme
 and, in thy descended portions, protect the universe.
 Thou art no son of mine. This whole world, from
 Brahmá to a tree,† thou art. Wherefore dost thou,
 who art one with the Supreme, beguile us? Blinded
 by delusion, I thought thee my son; and for thee, who
 art beyond all fear, I dreaded the anger of Kaṁsa;
 and, therefore, did I take thee, in my terror, to Gokula,
 where thou hast grown up. But I no longer claim
 thee as mine own.‡ Thou, Vishṇu,—the sovereign
 lord of all,§ whose actions Rudra, the Maruts, the
 Āświns, Indra,¶ and the gods cannot equal, although
 they behold them; thou, who hast come amongst us,
 for the benefit of the world,—art recognized; and de-
 lusion is no more.”

* जगदेतज्जगन्नाथ संभूतमखिलं यतः ।

कया युक्त्या विना मायां सोऽस्मत्तः संभविष्यति ॥

† स कोष्ठोत्सङ्गश्चयनो मनुष्याज्जायते कथम् ।

‡ आब्रह्मपादपमयं जगदेतत् । See Vol. III, p. 202, note 1.

§ This sentence is not rendered very literally.

This phrase is to represent *īśa*.

¶ The original has Śatakratu. See Vol. I., p. 150.

CHAPTER XXI.

not encourages his parents; places Ugrasena on the throne; makes the pupil of Sāndipani, whose son he recovers from the sea: he kills the marine demon Panchajana, and makes a horn of his shell.

HAVING permitted to Devaki and Vasudeva (an interval of) true knowledge, through the contemplation of his actions, Hari again spread the delusions of his power* over (them and) the tribe of Yadu. He said to them: "Mother; venerable father; you have, both, been long observed, by Sankarshaṇa and myself, with sorrow, and in fear of Kāṁsa. He whose time passes not in respect to his father and mother is a vile being, who descends, in vain, from virtuous parents.† The lives of those produce good fruit who reverence their parents, their spiritual guides, the Brahmans, and the gods. Pardon, therefore, father, the impropriety of which we may have been culpable, in resenting, without your orders,—to which we acknowledge that we are subject,—the oppression we suffered from the power and violence of Kāṁsa."‡ Thus speaking, they offered homage to the elders of the Yadu tribe, in order, and, then, in a suitable manner, paid their respects to the citizens. The wives of Kāṁsa, and those of his father,§

* मायां * * वीक्ष्यमीम् ।

† कुर्वतां याति यः कालो मातापितोरपूजनम् ।

तत्खण्डमायुषो वर्धे साधूनामुपजायते ॥

‡ This sentence is much expanded in translation.

§ मातरश्चास्य, "and his—Kāṁsa's—mothers," i. e., it seems, his mother and his mother-in-law.

then surrounded the body of the king, lying on the ground, and bewailed his fate, in deep affliction. Hari, in various ways, expressed his regret (for what had chanced), and endeavoured to console them, his own eyes being suffused with tears. The foe of Madhu then liberated Ugrasena from confinement, and placed him on the throne, which the death of his son had left vacant.* The chief of the Yádavas,† being crowned, performed the funeral rites of Kámsa, and of the rest of the slain. When the ceremony was over, and Ugrasena had resumed his royal seat, Kṛishná‡ (addressed him,) and said: "Sovereign lord, command, boldly, what else is to be done.§ The curse of Yayāti has pronounced our race unworthy of dominion;¹ but, with me for your servant, you may issue your orders to the gods. How should kings disobey them?"¶

Thus having spoken, the human ¶ Keśava summoned, mentally, the deity of the wind,—who came upon the instant,—and said to him: "Go, Váyu, to Indra, and desire him** to lay aside his pomp,†† and resign to

¹ The curse pronounced on the elder sons of Yayāti, on their refusing to take upon them their father's infirmities. See Vol. IV., p. 48.

* अभ्यविष्टस्तथैव न निजराज्ये हतात्मजम् ।

† *Yadu-siṃha*.

‡ Hari, in the original.

§ उवाचाज्ञापय विभो यत्कार्यमविशङ्कितः ।

॥ मयि भृत्ये स्थिते देवानाज्ञापयतु किं नृपैः ।

¶ कार्यमानुषः ।

** Vāsava, in the original.

†† 'Pride', rather,—*garva*; namely, says Retnagarbha, at the recollection of Kṛishná's having lifted up Mount Govardhana.

Ugrasena his (splendid) hall; Sudharman.* Tell him that Kṛishṇa commands him to send the royal hall, the unrivalled gem of princely courts, for the assemblage of the race of Yadu.† Accordingly, Vāyu: went, and delivered the message to the husband of Sachi,§ who (immediately) gave up to him the hall Sudharman; and Vāyu conveyed it to the Yādavas, the chiefs of whom, thenceforth, possessed this celestial court, emblazoned with jewels, and defended by the arm of Govinda.¶ The two excellent Yadu youths, versed in all knowledge, and possessed of all wisdom,** then submitted to instruction, as the disciples of teachers. Accordingly, they repaired to Sāndīpani who, though born in Kāśī,†† resided at Avantī,‡ to study (the science of) arms, and, becoming his pupils, were obedient and attentive to their master; exhibiting

* Or the name may be read Sudharmā. Both forms are authorized.

† कृष्णो ब्रवीति राजार्हमेतद्रत्नमनुत्तमम् ।

सुधर्माख्या संभा युक्तमस्यां यदुभिरासितम् ॥

‡ The Sanskrit has Pavana.

§ In the original, Sachiapati, an epithetical designation of Indra. See Vol. II., p. 72, note 2.

Here the original calls Indra by his appellation Purandara

* वायुनोपहृतां दिव्यां संभां ते यदुपगृह्णाः ।

बुभुधुः सर्वरत्नाढ्यां गोविन्दभुजसंश्रयात् ॥

The ordinary reading, and that accepted by Ratnagarbha, ends the second line with -संश्रयाः ।

** *Sarva-jñāna-maya*.

†† *Kāśya*, "of the Kāśī tribe." See my *Benares*, &c., p. 9, note 1, also, Vol. IV., p. 345, supplement to p. 159, note ††. But the Translator has the support of both the commentators. *Kāśya* is the word used in the corresponding passage of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, viz., X., Prior Section, XLV., 31, but Śrīdhara offers no explanation of it.

‡ The city so called. The Sanskrit has *Avantipura*. See Vol. III., p. 246. I have corrected "Avanti".

an example, to all men, of the observance of instituted rules.* In the course of sixty-four days,† they had gone through the elements of military science, with the treatises on the use of arms, and directions for the mystic incantations, which secure the aid of supernatural weapons.‡ Sándipani, astonished at such proficiency, and knowing that it exceeded human faculties, imagined that the Sun and Moon had become his scholars. When they had acquired all that he could teach, they said to him: "Now say what present shall be given to you, as the preceptor's fee." § The prudent Sándipani, perceiving that they were endowed with more than mortal powers, requested them to give him his dead son, (drowned) in the sea of Prabhása.¶

* They read through the Dhanur-veda, which treats of military matters; with the Rahasya, 'the mystical part,' and the Sangraha, 'collection' or 'compendium',—said to be, here, the Astra-prayoga, 'the employment of weapons.'

† Prabhása is a place of pilgrimage in the west of India, on the coast of Gujerat, near the temple of Somanátha, and town of Puttun Somnath. It is also known by the name of Soma-titha; Soma, or the Moon, having been here cured of the con-

* "An example of the observance of instituted rules" is to translate *áchára*. See Vol. II., p. 107, note ‡.

† *Ahoráttra*, 'nycthemera.' The term, apparently, is chosen with a view to imply diligent studentship.

‡ These three expansions are to represent the expressions specified in note 1 in this page.

§ *Guru-dakshiní*.

¶ See Vol. III., p. 67.

¶ The *mantras* and Upanishads, the commentators allege.

** Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha.

Taking up their arms, they marched against the Ocean. But the all-comprehending Sea said to them: "I have not killed the son of Sándīpani.* A demon† named Panchajana,‡ (who lives) in the form of a conch-shell, seized the boy. He is still under my waters.§ On hearing this, Kṛishna plunged into the sea; and, having slain the vile Panchajana, he took the conch-shell,—which was formed of his bones, (and bore it as his horn), the sound of which fills the demon-hosts with dismay, animates the vigour of the gods, and annihilates unrighteousness.¶ The heroes also recovered the boy from the pains of death, and restored him, in his former person, to his father. Rāma and Janārdana

sumption brought upon him by the imprecation of Daksha, his father-in-law. Mahābhārata, Śālya Parvan; Vol. III., p. 249.

* गृहीतास्त्रीं ततस्तीं तु सार्धपात्रो महोदधिः ।
उवाच न मया पुत्रो हतः सान्दीपनेरिति ॥

Various MSS. have, instead of सार्धपात्रः, सार्धहस्तः, पात्रपात्रः, जनेनार्तः, and भयेनार्तः. It is impossible to say what reading the Translator accorded the preference to.

† *Dutya*.

‡ For his origin, see Vol. II., p. 69, note 7.

§ The Sea here addresses Kṛishna as *asura-vīdana*, "slayer of demons."

¶ Professor Wilson has here omitted to translate a stanza, of some little importance, if only by way of connecting what precedes with what follows. It is recognized by both the commentators, and runs thus:

तं पाञ्चजन्यमापूर्य गत्वा यमपुरीं हरिः ।
बलदेवस्य बलवाञ्जित्वा विवस्वतं यमम् ॥

We learn, from this, that Hari blew Pāñchajanya, the name of his newly acquired shell,—and proceeded to the city of Yama; and that Baladeva conquered Yama, son of Vivasvat.

For the origin of Yama, see Vol. III., p. 20; for the situation of Yama's city, Vol. II., p. 239.

then returned to Mathurá, which was well presided over* by Ugrasena, and abounded in a happy population, both of men and women.¹ •

¹ The incidents of the two last chapters are related in the Bhágavata and Hari Vanśa,—often in the words of the text, but with many embellishments and additions, especially in the latter. The Brahma Vaivarta, on the other hand, makes still shorter work of these occurrences than our text.

• *Pálita.*

CHAPTER XXII.

Jarásandha besieges Mathurá; is defeated, but repeatedly renews the attack.

PARÁŚARA.—The mighty Kaṁsa had married the two daughters of Jarásandha,* one named Asti, the other, Prápti.† Jarásandha was king of Magadha,‡ and a very powerful prince;¹ who, when he heard that Kṛishṇa§ had killed his son-in-law, was much incensed, and, collecting a large force, marched against Mathurá, determined to put the Yádavas and Kṛishṇa to the sword. Accordingly, he invested the city with three and twenty numerous divisions of his forces.² Ráma and Janárdana sallied from the town, with a slender, but resolute, force, and fought bravely with the armies

¹ See Vol. IV., pp. 150, 151.

² With twenty-three Akshauhínis, each consisting of 109,350 ¶ infantry, 65,610 horse, 21,870 chariots, and as many elephants.** The Hari Vamśa†† enumerates, as the allies, or tributaries, of Jarásandha, a number of princes from various parts of India. But this is a gratuitous embellishment.

* See Vol. IV, pp. 150 and 173; also, note in p. 344.

† Corrected from "Asti" and "Prápti".

‡ Corrected, here and everywhere, from "Magadha". See Vol. IV., p. 151, note ‡.

§ Hari, in the original.

¶ This sentence is rendered with great looseness.

** ¶ Corrected from "109,300".

** So say the commentators on the *Amara-kośa*, II., VIII., II., 49. For a venerable statement of the component parts of an *akshauhini*, see the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parvan*, *śl.* 292—296.

†† *Śl.* 5013—5022

of Magadha.* The two youthful leaders prudently resolved to have recourse to their ancient weapons; and, accordingly, the bow of Hari, with two quivers filled with exhaustless† arrows, and the mace‡ called Kumodakī,§ and the ploughshare|| of Balabhadra, as well as the club¶ Saunanda, descended, at a wish, from heaven. Armed with these weapons, they (speedily) discomfited the king of Magadha and his hosts, and reentered the city, (in triumph).

Although the wicked (king of Magadha.) Jarāsan-
kha was defeated, yet Kṛishṇa knew, that, whilst he
escaped alive, he was not subdued; and, in fact, he
soon returned, with a (mighty) force, and was again
forced, by Rāma and Kṛishṇa, to fly. Eighteen times¹
did the haughty prince of Magadha** renew his attack

¹. The Bhāgavata†† and Hari Vamśa‡‡ say 'seventeen times.'
The latter indulges in a prolix description of the first encounter,
nothing of which occurs in the Bhāgavata, any more than in our
ext.

• निष्कम्पात्परीवारानुभौ रामजनार्दनौ ।
युयुधाते समं तस्त्र बलिनी बलिसिन्धिकैः ॥

† *Akshaya*, 'indestructible.'

‡ *Gadā*.

§ A present from Varuṇa, according to the *Mahābhārata*, *Ādi-parvan*,
l. 8200. It takes its name from Kumodaka, an epithetical appellation
of Kṛishṇa.

|| *Ilala*, which means, ordinarily, 'plough.' For its synonym, *sira*,
synecdochically used in the same way as in the text, see Vol. III.,
p. 332, note ¶.

¶ *Musala*; a weapon shaped like a pestle, it should seem.

** To render मागधी राजा । .

†† X., Latter Section, l., 44.

‡‡ *Śl.* 5126.

upon the Yādavas, headed by Kṛishṇa, and was as often defeated and put to the rout, by them, with very inferior numbers. That the Yādavas were not overpowered by their foes was owing to the present might of the portion of the discus-armed Viṣṇu.* It was the pastime† of the lord of the universe, in his capacity of man, to launch various weapons against his enemies: (for) what effort of power to annihilate his foes could be necessary to him whose fiat creates and destroys the world? But, as subjecting himself to human custom, he formed alliances with the brave, and engaged in hostilities with the base.§ He had recourse to the four devices of policy,—or, negotiation, presents, sowing dissension, and chastisement,||—and, sometimes, even betook himself to flight. Thus, imitating the conduct of human beings, the lord of the world pursued, at will, his sports.¶

* यद्वलं यादवानां तैरजितं यदनेकशः ।

तच्च संनिधिमाहात्म्यं विष्णोरंशस्य चक्रिणः ॥

† *Līlā*. See Vol. IV., p. 325, note §.

‡ *Aneka-rūpa*.

§ तथापि यो मनुष्याणां धर्मसमनुवर्तते ।

कुर्वन्बलवता संधिं ह्रीनिर्युद्धं करोत्यसौ ॥

Ratnagarbha reads the first verse as follows :

तथा ये ये मनुष्याणां धर्मासदनुवर्तनम् ।

Other variants, of little importance, might be added from my MSS unaccompanied by commentary.

|| *Sāman*, *upapradāna*, *bheda*, and *daṇḍa-pāta*. See, further, the *Amara-kośa*, II., VIII., 1., 20.

¶ मनुष्यदेहिनां चेष्टामित्वेवमनुवर्ततः ।

जीवा जगत्येतेष्वस्य च्छन्दतः संप्रवर्तते ॥

CHAPTER XXIII.

Birth of Kālayavana: he advances against Mathurā. Kṛishṇa builds Dwārakā, and sends thither the Yādava tribe: he leads Kālayavana into the cave of Muchukunda: the latter awakes, consumes the Yavana king, and praises Kṛishṇa.

PARÁŚARA.—Śyāla* having called Garga,† the Brahman, whilst at the cow-pens, impotent, in an assembly of the Yādavas,‡ they all laughed: at which he was highly offended, and repaired to the shores§ of the western sea,|| where he engaged in arduous penance, to obtain a son, who should be a terror to the tribe of Yadu.¶ Propitiating Mahādeva, and living upon iron-sand** for twelve years, the deity†† (at last) was pleased with him, and gave him the (desired) boon. The king of the Yavanas, who was childless,

* On the credit of both the commentators, we here have no proper name, but the word for brother-in-law, *śyāla*. According to Ratnagarbha, Śiśirāyaṇa is thus alluded to, and proleptically; for Garga was still to marry his sister, Gauri.

† Corrected from "Gārgya", with the suffrage of several MSS. Probably the Garga is meant who—as we read in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X., prior Section, Chapter XLV.,—served as instructor to Kṛishṇa and Balarāma. See Vol. IV., p. 279. But Gārgya seems to be the reading of the *Harvaṇśa*, sl. 1957—1959.

Two Gargas, then, are named in the present Chapter. See p. 58, *fra*.

‡ यदूनां संनिधी ।

§ There is no word for this in the Sanskrit.

|| Instead of *dakṣhiṇābdhi*, the reading of Śrīdhara, most MSS. have *kṣhiṇāpatha*, 'the south', the lection preferred by Ratnagarbha.

¶ सुतमिच्छंस्तपसेपे यदुष्कमयावहम् ।

* *Ayaś-chūrṇa*; 'iron-filings', more likely.

† Bala, in the original.

became the friend of Garga;* and the latter begot a son, by his wife, who was as (black as) a bee, and was, thence, called Kālayavana.¹ The Yavana king, having placed his son, whose breast was as hard as the point of the thunderbolt, upon the throne, retired to the woods. Inflated with conceit of his prowess, Kālayavana demanded of Nārada who were the most mighty heroes on earth. To which the sage answered "The Yādavas." Accordingly, Kālayavana assembled many myriads of Mlechchhas and barbarians,²† and, with a

* This legend of the origin of Kālayavana is given, also, by the Hari Vaṁśa. The Bhāgavata, like our text, comes, at once, to the siege of Mathurā by this chief; but the Hari Vaṁśa suspends the story, for more than thirty chapters, to narrate an origin of the Yādavas, and sundry adventures of Kṛishṇa and Rāma to the south-west. Most of these have no other authority, and are, no doubt, inventions of the Dakṣiṇī compiler; and the others are misplaced.

² So the Bhāgavata describes him, § as leading a host of Mlechchhas (or barbarians) against Kṛishṇa; but, in the Mahābhārata,—Sabhā Parvan, Vol. I., p. 330,—where Kṛishṇa describes the power of Jarāsandha, he admits that he and the Yādavas fled from Mathurā to the west, through fear of that king; but no account is given of any siege of Mathurā by Kālayavana. The only indication of such a person is the mention, || that Bhagadatta,

स भाजयामास च तं यवनेशो ह्यनात्मजः ।

The original, it will be observed, does not here name Garga, which I have corrected from "Gārgya".

† स्नेच्छकोटीसहस्राणां सहस्रैर्बहुभिर्वृतः ।

‡ Chapter CXV.

§ It calls him Yavana the Asura.

|| Śl. 578, 579:

मुबं च नरकं चैव प्राप्तिं यो यवनाधिपः ।

अपर्यन्तबलो राजा प्रतीच्यां वरुणो यथा ॥

vast armament of elephants, cavalry, and foot, advanced, impatiently, against Mathurá and the Yádavas;

the Yavana king, who rules over Muru* and Naraká, in the west and south, is one of his most attached feudatories. This king is, in various other places, called king of Prágjyotisha; as he is in a subsequent passage of the same book,—Sabhá Parvan, p. 374;† and this name is always applied to the the west of Assam.‡ His subjects are, however, still Yavanas and Mlechchhas; and he presents horses, caps set with jewels, and swords with ivory hilts,—articles scarcely to be found in Assam, which cannot well be the seat of his sovereignty. It seems most likely, therefore, that the story may have originated in some knowledge of the power and position of the Greek-Bactrian princes, or their Scythian successors; although, in the latter compilations, it has been mixed up with allusions to the first Mohammedan aggressions. See Asiatic Researches, Vol. VI., p. 506, and Vol. XV., p. 100.

भगदत्तो महाराज वृद्धस्य पितुः सखा ।

• स वाचा प्रणतस्तस्य कर्मणा च विशेषतः ॥

Here, Bhagadatta—with the epithet *aparyanta-bala*, ‘of boundless might’;—is said to be paramount over Muru and Naraka, in like manner as Varuṇa rules the west. The direction of Bhagadatta’s kingdom is not assigned.

M. Fauche’s translation of this passage, while correcting Professor Wilson’s view of its meaning, as to some points, turns an epithet into a king, and gives him what belongs to Bhagadatta:

“De lui relève encore le roi Aparyantabala, souverain des Yavanas, qui règne sur le Mourou et le Naraka, comme Varouṇa sur la plage occidentale;

“Et Bhagadatta, le vieil ami de ton père, *Bhagadatta*, qui se courbe plus que toute autre, puissant roi, devant sa parole et son geste.”

For the position of Varuṇa’s city, see Vol. II., p. 239.

• It has more than once been conjectured that we should read Maru, in this place. But Muru and Naraka, I take it, are, here, not names of countries,—as is generally supposed,—but two demons, so called, at last slain by Kṛishṇa. See Chapter XXIX. of this Book.

† Śl. 1836.

‡ I. e., to the ancient Kāmarūpa; for which see Vol. II., p. 132, and p. 133, note 1.

wearying, every day, the animal that carried him, but insensible of fatigue, himself.

When Kṛishṇa knew of his approach, he reflected, that, if the Yādavas encountered the Yavana, they would be so much weakened by the conflict, that they would then be overcome by the king of Magadha;* that their force was much reduced by the war with Magadha,† whilst that of Kālayavana was unbroken; and that the enemy might be, therefore, victorious.‡ Thus, the Yādavas were exposed to a double danger.§ He resolved, therefore, to construct a citadel, for the Yadu tribe, that should not be easily taken,—one that even women might defend, and in which, therefore, the heroes of the house of Vṛishṇi|| should be secure; one in which the male combatants of the Yādavas should dread no peril, though he, himself, should be drunk, or careless, asleep, or abroad. Thus reflecting, Kṛishṇa¶ solicited a space of twelve furlongs from the ocean; and there he built the city of Dwārakā,¹ defended by high ramparts,** and beautified with gardens

¹ According to the Mahābhārata, he only enlarged and fortified the ancient city of Kuśasthali, founded by Raivata. Sabhā Parvan.†† See, also, Vol. III., p. 253, of this work.

* कृष्णोऽपि चिन्तयामास वयितं यादवं बलम् ।
यवनेन रणे गम्यं मागधस्य भविष्यति ।

† Literally, "by the king of the Magadhas," मागधेन ।

‡ A free translation; and so is much of what follows.

§ There is no Sanskrit for this sentence. It is taken from the commentaries.

|| *Vṛishṇi-pungava*. For Vṛishṇi, see Vol. IV., p. 58.

¶ The original has Govinda.

** *Mahā-vapra*.

†† *Śl.* 614. M. Fauche, in his translation, converts Raivata into a mountain.

and reservoirs of water,* crowded with houses and buildings,* and splendid as the capital of Indra, Amarāvati.† Thither Janārdana conducted the inhabitants of Mathurā, and then awaited, at that city, the approach of Kālayavana.‡

When the hostile army encamped round Mathurā, Kṛishṇa,§ unarmed, went forth, and beheld the Yavana king. Kālayavana, the strong-armed, recognizing Vāsudeva, pursued him,—him whom the thoughts of perfect ascetics|| cannot overtake. Thus pursued, Kṛishṇa entered a large cavern, where Muchukunda, ¶ the king of men, was asleep. The rash ¶ Yavana, entering (the cave), and beholding a man lying asleep there, concluded it must be Kṛishṇa, and kicked him; at which Muchukunda awoke, and, casting on him an angry glance, the Yavana was instantly consumed, and reduced to ashes.** For, in a battle between the gods and demons, Muchukunda had, formerly, contributed to the defeat of the latter; and, being overcome with sleep, he solicited of the gods, as a boon, that he should enjoy a long repose. “Sleep long, and soundly,”†† said the gods; “and whoever disturbs you shall be instantly burnt to ashes by fire emanating from your body.”¹

¹ The name of Muchukunda, as one of the sons of Māndhātṛi.‡‡

* *Prākāra*; ‘strong buildings’, Ratnagarbha says.

† See Vol. II., p. 240, text and notes

‡ आसन्ने कालयवने मथुरां च स्वयं ययौ ।

§ The Sanskrit has Govinda.

¶ *Mahā-yogin*.

¶ *Sudurmati*.

** दृष्ट्वा च तेनासी ज्वाल यवनोऽपिना ।

तत्क्रोधेन मैत्रेय भस्मीभूतस्य तत्क्षणात् ॥

†† These words are interpolated by the Translator.

‡‡ Corrected from “Māndhātṛi”.

Having burnt up the iniquitous Yavana, and beholding the foe of Madhu, Muchukunda asked him who he was. "I am born," he replied, "in the Lunar-race, in the tribe of Yadu, and am the son of Vasudeva." Muchukunda, recollecting the prophecy of old Garga, fell down before the lord of all, Hari, saying: "Thou art known, supreme lord, to be a portion of Vishnu;* for it was said, of old, by Garga,† that, at the end of the twenty-eighth Dwāpara age, Hari would be born in the family of Yadu. Thou art he, without doubt,—the benefactor of mankind; for thy glory I am unable to endure. Thy words are of deeper tone than the muttering of the rain-cloud; and earth sinks down beneath the pressure of thy feet. As, in the battle between the gods and demons, the Asuras were unable to sustain my lustre, so even am I incapable of bearing thy radiance.: Thou alone art the refuge of every

occurs in Vol. III., p. 268; but no further notice is taken of him. The Bhāgavata§ specifies his being the son of that king, and relates the same story of his long sleep as the text. The same occurs in the Hari Vaiṣṇa. || The general character of the legends in this chapter is that of reference to something familiar, rather than its narration. In the Hari Vaiṣṇa the opposite extreme is observable; and there the legends are as prolix as here they are concise. The Bhāgavata follows a middle course; but it seems unlikely, that, in either of the three, we have the original fables.

* ग्राहं ज्ञातो भवान्विष्णोरंशस्त्वं परमेश्वरः ।

Instead of विष्णोरंशः, some MSS. have विष्णुः पूर्णः ।

† Probably, the Garga mentioned in Vol. II., p. 213.

: देवासुरे महायुद्धे दैत्यसैन्ये महाभटाः ।

न शेकुर्मम तत्तेजस्वत्तेजो न सहाम्यहम् ॥

§ X., Latter Section, II.

|| Chapter CXV.

living being who has lighted on the world. Do thou, who art the alleviator of all distress, show favour upon me, and remove from me all that is evil.* Thou art the oceans, the mountains, the rivers, the forests; thou art earth, sky, air, water, and fire: thou art mind, intelligence, the unevolved principle,† the vital airs, the lord of life; the soul;‡ all that is beyond the soul; the all-pervading; exempt from the vicissitudes of birth; devoid of (sensible properties,) sound and the like; undecaying, illimitable, imperishable, subject neither to increase nor diminution:§ thou art that which is Brahma,—without beginning or end. From thee the immortals, the progenitors, the Yakshas, Gandharvas,¶ and Kinnaras, the Siddhas, the nymphs of heaven,¶ men, animals,** birds, reptiles,†† deer,‡‡ and all the vegetable world, proceed; and all that has been, or will be, or is now, moveable or fixed. All that is amorphous, or has form; all that is gross, subtile, moveable, or stable,§§ thou art, O creator of the world; and beside thee there is not anything. O lord, I have been whirl-

• संप्रसीद प्रपन्नार्तिहर्ता हर ममाशुभम् ।

† *Avyākṛita*.

‡ *Puṁs*.

§ *Nāśa*.

¶ Corrected from "Gandharbhas".

¶ *Apsaras*.

** *Paśu*, which often means 'sacrificial animals'. Compare the title Paśupati; also, the terms *paśubandha* and *nirvāḍhapāśubandha*, Vol. III., p. 40, note §, and p. 113, note †.

†† *Sarīṣipā*; rather "reptiles" than "insects", as it is rendered in Vol. II., p. 92.

‡‡ 'Wild beasts', rather; *mṛiga*.

§§ Ratnagārbha has, instead, of सूक्ष्मं चरं स्थिरं, सूक्ष्मतरं तथा : and this reading gets rid of two tautologies; for "moveable or fixed" occurs just before.

ed round, in the circle of worldly existence, for ever; and have suffered the three classes of affliction;* and there is no rest† whatever. I have mistaken pains for pleasures, like sultry vapours‡ for a pool of water; and their enjoyment has yielded me nothing but sorrow.§ The earth, dominion, forces, treasures, friends,¶ children, wife, dependants, all the objects of sense,** have I possessed, imagining them to be sources of happiness; but I found, that, in their changeable nature,†† O lord, they were nothing but vexation. The gods themselves, though (high) in heaven, were in need of my alliance. Where, then, is everlasting repose? Who, without adoring thee,—who art the origin of all worlds,—shall attain, O supreme deity, that rest which endures for ever? Beguiled by thy delusions, and

* These are alluded to in the opening stanza of the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*:

दुःखत्रयाभिघाताज्जिज्ञासा तदपधातके हेतौ ।

दृष्टे सापार्था चिन्निकान्तात्यन्तोऽभावात् ॥

"Because of the disquietude which results from threefold pain, there arises a desire to know the means of doing away therewith effectually. If it be objected, that, visible means to this end being available, such desire is unprofitable, I demur; for that these means do not, entirely and for ever, operate exemption from disquietude."

The three sorts of pain, the *ādhyātmika*, *ādhibhautika*, and *ādhidaivika*, are, in the words of Colebrooke, "evil proceeding from self," "from external beings," and "from divine causes". See his *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 238.

† *Nirvṛiti*.

‡ *Mṛiga-trishṇā*, the mirage.

§ तथा नाथ गृहीतानि तानि तापाय चाभवन् ।

¶ *Rāshṭra*.

¶ Insert 'adherents', *pakṣa*.

** शब्दाद्या विषयाः ।

†† परिणामे, 'in the end,' 'at last,' 'after all.'

ignorant of thy nature,* men, after suffering the various penalties of birth, death, and infirmity, behold the countenance of the king of ghosts,† and suffer, in hell, dreadful tortures,—the reward of their own deeds. Addicted to sensual objects, through thy delusions I revolve in the whirlpool of selfishness and pride; and, hence, I come to thee, as my final refuge, who art the lord deserving of all homage, than whom there is no other asylum;‡ my mind afflicted with repentance for my trust in the world, and desiring the fulness of felicity, emancipation from all existence.”§

* अस्वरूपविदसव ।

† *Preta-rāja*, an epithet of Yama.

‡ परमपदं यतो न किञ्चित् ।

§ निर्वाणे परिणतधाम्नि साभिलाषः ।

This means: “longing for emancipation,—of uncreated glory.” So says Ratnagarbha, who also allows the epithet of ‘emancipation’ to signify “resort of perfect *yogins*”. Śrīdhara gives the second interpretation only.

The ‘emancipation’ of the Hindus is not release “from all existence”, but from consciousness of pleasure and pain. The distinction is, at all events, good, as a piece of idealism.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Muchukunda goes to perform penance. Kṛishṇa takes the army and treasures of Kálayavana, and repairs, with them, to Dwáraká. Balaráma visits Vraja: inquiries of its inhabitants after Kṛishṇa.

THUS praised by the wise Muchukunda, the sovereign of all things, the eternal lord, Hari, said to him: "Go to whatever celestial regions you wish, lord of men, possessed of might irresistible, honoured * by my favour. When you have fully enjoyed all heavenly pleasures, you shall be born in a distinguished family, retaining the recollection of your former births; and you shall, finally, obtain emancipation."† Having heard this promise, and prostrated himself before Achyuta, the lord of the world, Muchukunda went forth from the cave, and, beholding men of diminutive stature, now first knew that the Kali age had arrived. The king, therefore, departed to Gandhamádana,‡ the shrine § of Naranárayaṇa, to perform penance.

Kṛishṇa, having, by this stratagem, destroyed his

* *Upabṛuhita.*

† भुक्त्वा भोगान्महादिब्बान्मविषसि महाकुले ।

जातिस्मरो मत्प्रसादात्ततो मोक्षमवाप्स्यसि ॥

‡ Probably, the mountain*spoken of in Vol. II., p. 115.

§ *Sthána.* A shrine of Naranárayaṇa is referred to in Chapter XXXVII of this Book.

‡ A name of Kṛishṇa, for which see the *Mahábhārata*, *Śānti-parvan*, sl. 12658; also, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, V., XIX, 9.

"In various parts of the *Mahábhārata*, Kṛishṇa and Arjuna are singularly represented as having formerly existed in the persons of two Rishis, Nárāyaṇa and Nara, who always lived and acted together.' *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part IV., p. 192."

The Devarshis Nara and Nárāyaṇa are mentioned in Vol. I., p. 111, note 1, and in Vol. III., p. 68, note 1. Also see Vol. IV., p. 246, note 1.

enemy, returned to Mathurā, and took captive his army, rich in horses, elephants, and cars, which he conducted to Dwārakā,* and delivered to Ugrasena; and the Yadu race was relieved from all fear of invasion.† Baladeva, when hostilities had entirely ceased, being desirous of seeing his kinsmen, went to Nanda's cow-pens,‡ and there again conversed with the herdsmen and their females, with affection and respect. By some, the elders, he was embraced; others, the juniors, he embraced; and with those of his own age, male or female, he talked and laughed.§ The cowheads made many kind speeches to Halāyudha;|| but some of the Gopīs spoke to him with the affectation of anger,¶ or with feelings of jealousy, as they inquired after the loves of Kṛishṇa with the women of Mathurā. "Is all well with the fickle and inconstant Kṛishṇa?" said they. "Does the volatile swain, the friend of an instant, amuse the women of the city by laughing at our rustic efforts (to please him)? Does he ever think of us, singing in chorus to his songs? Will he not come here once again, to see his mother? But why talk of these things? It is a different tale to tell, for him without us, and for us without him. Father, .

* The original has Dwāravati, of which "Dwārakā" is a synonym.

† *Parābhībhava*.

‡ *Nanda-gokula*.

§ *कैश्चापि संपरिष्वक्तः काञ्चित्स परिष्वजे ।*

हास्यं चक्रे समं कैश्चिन्नोपिगोपीजनैस्तथा ॥

The Translator's specifications of "elders", &c., are taken from the commentators.

|| "Ploughshare weaponed," literally; a name of Baladeva or Balabhadra. *Vide supra*, p. 51, text and note ||.

¶ *Prema-kupita*. Compare the terms in Vol. IV., p. 323, notes § and **.

mother, brother, husband, 'kin,—what have we not abandoned for his sake? But he is a monument of ingratitude.* Yet tell us, does not Kṛishṇa talk of coming here? Falsehood is never, O Kṛishṇa, to be uttered by thee. Verily, this is Dāmodara,† this is Govinda, who has given up his heart to the damsel of the city,—who has, no longer, any regard for us but looks upon us with disdain.”: So saying, the Gopīs, whose minds were fixed on Kṛishṇa,§ addresse Rāma, in his place, calling him Dāmodara and Govinda,|| and laughed, and were merry;¶ and Rāma consoled them by communicating to them agreeable, modest, affectionate, and gentle messages from Kṛishṇa. With the cowherds he talked mirthfully, as he has been wont to do, and rambled, along with them, over the lands of Vraja.¹

¹ This visit of Balarāma to Vraja is placed, by the Harivamśa, anterior to the fall of Mathurā; by the Bhāgavata, long subsequent to the establishment of the Yadus at Dwārakā.

* अकृतज्ञध्वजः ।

† See Vol. IV., p. 231.

‡ दामोदरोऽसौ गोविन्दः पुरस्वीसक्तमानसः ।

अप्रेतप्रीतिरस्मासु दुर्दर्शः प्रतिभाति नः ॥

“Of this Dāmodara, *or* Govinda, whose heart is attached to the women of the city, the love has departed, as towards us; and, therefore, he is hard to be seen. And yet he delights us.”

Ratnagarbha has दामोदरासौ; *i. e.*, he puts ‘Dāmodara’ in the vocative. By reading, also, अप्रेतप्रीतिः,—in which, likewise, he is peculiar,—he gives the sentence a very different meaning; but his explanation of this expression by गतिप्रीतिः can scarcely be accepted.

§ Hari, in the original.

|| The Sanskrit has Kṛishṇa.

¶ आमन्त्रितः स कृष्णेति पुनर्दामोदरेति च ।

अहसुः सुस्वरं गोप्यो हरिणा हृतचेतसः ॥

CHAPTER XXV.

Balarāma finds wine in the hollow of a tree; becomes inebriated; commands the Yamunā to come to him, and, on her refusal, drags her out of her course: Lakshmi gives him ornaments and a dress: he returns to Dwārakā, and marries Revatī.

WHILST the mighty* Śeṣha,¹† the upholder of the lobe, was thus engaged in wandering amidst the forests, with the herdsmen, in the disguise of a mortal, having rendered great services to earth, and still considering what more was to be achieved,—Varuṇa,‡ in order to provide for his recreation, said to (his wife,) Vāruṇī§ (the goddess of wine): “Thou, Madirā, art ever acceptable to the powerful Ananta.¶ Go, therefore, auspicious and kind goddess,** and promote his enjoyments.” Obeying these commands, Vāruṇī went and established herself in the hollow of a Kadamba-tree, in the woods of Vrīndāvana. Baladeva, roaming about, (came there, and,) smelling the pleasant fragrance of liquor,†† resumed his ancient passion for strong drink. The holder of the ploughshare,‡‡ observ-

¹ The great serpent, of whom Balarāma is an incarnation.

* *Mahātman*.

† See Vol. II., pp. 74, 85, and 211, note 1.

‡ See Vol. II., p. 85.

§ See Vol. I., p. 146, note 1; and Vol. II., p. 213.

¶ Different, of course, from the Madirā named in Vol. IV., p. 109.

¶ The same as Śeṣha. See Vol. II., p. 211.

** गच्छ मुदे शुभे । Ratnagarbha reads, instead of मुदे, मुदा ।

† *Madirā*.

†† Lāṅgalin, in the original, the same, in effect, as Halāyudha. *Vide supra*, p. 63, note .

V.

ing the vinous drops distilling from the Kadamba-tree, was much delighted, (and gathered) and quaffed them,¹ along with the herdsmen and the Gopís; whilst those who were skilful with voice and lute celebrated him in their songs.* Being inebriated (with the wine), and the drops of perspiration standing like pearls upon his limbs, he called out, not knowing what he said:† Come hither, Yamuná river. I want to bathe." The river, disregarding the words of a drunken man, came not (at his bidding). On which, Ráma,‡ in a rage,

¹ There is no vinous exudation from the Kadamba-tree (*Nau-
clea Kadamba*); but its flowers are said to yield a spirit, by distil-
lation;—whence *Kádambari*§ is one of the synonyms of wine,
or spirituous liquor. The grammarians, however, also derive the
word from some legend; stating it to be so called, because it
was produced from the hollow of a Kadamba-tree on the Go-
manta mountain: गोमन्तपर्वते कदम्बकोटराज्याता । The *Hari
Vaiṣṇa*,¶ which alone makes the Gomanta mountain the scene
of an exploit of Kṛishṇa and Ráma, makes no mention of this
origin of wine; and the *Bhāgavata*** merely says, that Váruṇī
took up her abode in the hollow of a tree.†† There must be
some other authority, therefore, for this story.

• उपगीयमानो जलितं गीतवाचविशारदैः ।

This verse, it is observable, has an excessive syllable at the end of
its first half.

† *Vihwala*.

‡ The Sanskrit has *Lángalin*. See the preceding page, note ††.

§ Personified, *Kádambari* is said to be daughter of *Chitraratha* and
Madirā. For *Chitraratha*, see Vol. II., p. 86, note 1.

Corrected, here and below,—and in the Sanskrit,—from "*Gomantha*".
For the mountain in question, see Vol. II., p. 141, note 2, *ad finem*. The
Harivaiṣṇa places it near the *Sahya* mountains.

¶ Chapter XCVII.

** X., Latter Section, XVI, 19.

†† Compare the *Harivaiṣṇa*, Chapter XCVIII.

took up his ploughshare,* which he plunged into her bank, and dragged her to him, calling out:† “Will you not come, you jade? Will you not come? Now go where you please, (if you can).” Thus saying, he compelled the dark river to quit its ordinary course, and follow him whithersoever he wandered through the wood.§ Assuming a mortal figure,|| the Yamuná, with distracted looks, approached Balabhadra,¶ and entreated him** to pardon her, and let her go. But he replied: “I will drag you with my ploughshare, in a thousand directions, since you condemn my prowess and strength.”†† At last, however, appeased by her reiterated prayers, he let her go, after she had watered all the country.‡‡ When he had bathed, the goddess

* The Bhágavata and Hari Vamśa §§ repeat this story; the latter, very imperfectly. The former adds, that the Yamuná is

* *Itala.* Vide supra, p. 51, note ||.

† गृहीत्वा तां तटे तेन चर्कष मदविह्वलः ।

‡ *Pípa.*

§ सा कृष्टा सहसा तेन मार्गे संत्यज्य निम्नगा ।

यचाले बलभद्रोऽसौ स्नावयामास तद्वनम् ॥

Śrīdhara, like one of my MSS. unaccompanied by commentary, has, not कृष्टा, but कृष्णा, the reading followed by the Translator.

|| शरीरिणी ।

¶ Rāma, in the original.

** The Sanskrit here exhibits Musaláyudha, “Bludgeon-armed”, a name of Baladeva. Vide supra, p. 51, note ¶.

†† सोऽब्रवीद्वज्रानासि मम शीर्थबले यदि ।

सोऽहं त्वां हलपातेन विनेष्यामि सहस्रधा ॥

‡‡ इत्युक्त्यातिसंचासात्तद्या नद्या प्रसादितः ।

भूभागे स्नाविते तस्मिन्मुचोच यमुनां बलः ॥

§§ Chapter CII.

of beauty.* Lakshmi, came, and gave him a beautiful lotos to place in one ear, and an ear-ring for the other;† a fresh necklace of lotos-flowers, sent by Varuṇa; and garments of a dark blue colour, as costly as the wealth of the ocean:‡ and, thus decorated with a lotos in one ear, a ring in the other,§ dressed in blue garments, and wearing a garland, Balarāma appeared united with loveliness. Thus decorated, Rāma sported two months in Vraja, and then returned to Dwāraká, where he married Revatī, the daughter of King Raivata,|| by whom he had (two sons,) Nisátha¶ and Ulmuka.¹

still to be seen following the course along which she was dragged by Balarāma. The legend, probably, alludes to the construction of canals from the Jumna, for the purposes of irrigation; and the works of the Mohammedans in this way—which are well known,—were, no doubt, preceded by similar canals, dug by order of Hindu princes.

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 109.

* The Sanskrit has only Kānti for “the goddess of beauty.” It is a name of Lakshmi, who is mentioned, in the original, several stanzas further on.

† अवतंसोत्पलं चारु गृहीत्वा च कुण्डलम् ।

Professor Wilson has rendered the explanation of the commentators.

‡ This expression is to render *sanudrārha*.

§ कृतावतंसः स तदा चारुकुण्डलभूषितः ।

See Vol. III., pp. 249—254.

¶ Corrected from “Nishatha”.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Krishna carries off Rukminī: the princes who come to rescue her repulsed by Balarāma. Rukmin overthrown, but, spared by Krishna, founds Bhojakata. Pradyumna born of Rukminī.

BHĪSHMAKA* was king of Vidarbha,† residing at Kuṇḍina.‡ He had a son named Rukmin, and a beautiful daughter termed Rukminī. Krishna fell in love with the latter,§ and solicited her in marriage: but her brother, who hated Krishna, would not assent to the espousals. At the suggestion of Jarāsandha, and with the concurrence of his son, the powerful (sovereign) Bhishmaka affianced Rukminī to Śiśupāla.¶ In order to (celebrate) the nuptials, Jarāsandha and other princes, the friends of Śiśupāla,** assembled

* Vidarbha is the country of Berar; and the name remains in the present city of Beder. The capital, however, Kuṇḍinapura, is, commonly, identified with a place called Kundapoor, about forty miles north-east of Amarāvati (in Berar).

* The elongated form of Bhishma, as this king is called in the *Mahābhārata*.

† Literally, "in the country of the Vidarbhas": विदर्भविषये ।

‡ See Vol. II., p. 158, note 3.

§ And she, we are told, with him:

इविमणीं चक्रे हृष्यः सा च तं चावहासिनी ।

Chāruhasini is an epithet, not a second name, of Rukminī. For *Chāruhasini*, another of Krishna's numerous wives, see Vol. IV., p. 112, also, *infra*, p. 81, note §, and p. 83, note §.

¶ Called Chakrin, in the Sanskrit.

¶ The beginning of this Chapter is translated in *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part IV., p. 179, note 161.

** See Vol. IV., pp. 104 and 106.

in the capital of Vidarbha; * and Kṛishṇa, attended by Balabhadra and many other Yādavas, also went to Kuṇḍina, † to witness the wedding. When there, Hari contrived, on the eve of the nuptials, to carry off the princess; † leaving Rāma and his kinsmen to sustain the weight of his enemies. ‡ Pauṇḍraka, § the illustrious Dantavakra, ¶ Vidūratha, ¶ Śiśupāla, Jarāsandha, Śālwa, ** and other kings, indignant (at the insult), exerted themselves to kill Kṛishṇa, but were repelled by Balarāma and the Yādavas. †† Rukmin, vowing that he would never enter Kuṇḍina again, until he had slain Keśava in fight, pursued and overtook him. :: (In the combat that ensued), Kṛishṇa destroyed, with his discus, §§ as if in sport, the host (of Rukmin),—with all

* When she had gone forth from the city to worship Ambikā: Bhāgavata. Indrāṇī, the wife of Indra: Hari Vamśa. ||| Our text tells the circumstance more concisely than the others.

* भीष्मकस्य पुरीं वग्मुः ।

† Corrected, throughout this Chapter, from "Kundina".

‡ विपक्षभारमासज्य रामावेध्वय बन्धुषु ।

§ See Chapter XXXIV. of this Book.

¶ See Vol. IV., p. 103.

¶ Vide *ibid.*, p. 153.

** Exchanged for "Śalya", which I nowhere find, and which is, probably, corrupted from Śalya, a reading peculiar to Professor Wilson's favourite MS. Śālwa was king of the Saubhas, according to the *Hari-vamśa*, *sl.* 6143.

†† रामावेर्यदुपुङ्गवैः ।

:: हनुं छण्णमभिद्रुतः ।

§§ The "discus", *chakra*, is not here mentioned; but Kṛishṇa is designated as Chakrin. The original of the passage where the discus was supposed to be spoken of is as follows:

निर्जितः पातितद्योर्वीं वीर्यश्रीव स चक्रिणा

I find no reading but this.

||| *Sl.* 6612.

its horse, and elephants, and foot, and chariots,—and overthrew him, and hurled him on the ground, and would have put him to death, but was withheld by the entreaties of Rukmiṇī.* “He is my only brother,” she exclaimed, “and must not be slain by thee. Restrain your wrath, O divine lord; and give me my brother, in charity.” Thus addressed by her, Kṛishṇa, whom no acts affect,† spared Rukmin;‡ and he (in pursuance of his vow,) founded the city Bhojakatā,§ and (ever afterwards) dwelt therein.¶ After the defeat of Rukmin, Kṛishṇa married Rukmiṇī,¶ in due form; having, first, made her his own by the Rākshasa ritual.*** She bore him the gallant Pradyumna, a

* After depriving him of his eyebrows and hair. In the Bhāgavata, Balarāma also interferes in favour of Rukmin, and reproves Kṛishṇa for disfiguring him.

• Of course, this was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kūṇḍina, or Vidarbha, and is, usually, supposed to be situated on the Narmadā.

• That is, by violence. Thus Manu: “The seizure of a maiden, by force, from her house, while she weeps, and calls for

• हुणुं कृतमतिः कृष्णो रक्मिणीं युद्धदुर्मदम् ।

प्रणम्य याचितो ब्रह्मन् रक्मिणीं भगवान्हरिः ॥

† *Akṣiṣṭa-karman*. See Vol. IV., p. 282, note †.

‡ See Vol. II., p. 158, note 3.

§ Ratnagarbha, with whom agree several of my MSS. unaccompanied by commentary, omits a passage of three stanzas, beginning with the verses cited in note *, above, and ending at the point indicated. Quite possibly, too, this passage has been unwarrantably introduced into the text as recognized by Śrīdhara. He does not gloss any part of it.

¶ Madhusūdana, in the original.

¶ She was one of Kṛishṇa's chief wives. See Vol. IV., p. 112.

** See Vol. III., p. 105.

portion of the deity of love.* The demon Śambara† carried him off; but he slew the demon.‡

assistance, after her kinsmen and friends have been slain in battle, or wounded, and their houses broken open, is the marriage styled *Rākshasa*." § III., 33. According to the *Bhāgavata*, Rukmīṇī sends to invite Kṛishṇa to carry her off, and instructs him how to proceed.

* "The deity of love" is to render *Madana*, a name of Kāma or Ananga.

† See Vol. II., p. 70.

• : अहार शम्बरु यं वै यो अघान च शम्बरम् ।

§ This is from the translation of Sir William Jones

हत्वा चित्त्वा च भित्त्वा च क्रोशन्तीं रुदतीं गृह्णात् ।
प्रसह्य कन्याहरणं राक्षसो विधिबध्यते ॥

CHAPTER XXVII.

Pradyumna stolen by Śambara; thrown into the sea, and swallowed by a fish; found by Māyādevī: he kills Śambara, marries Māyādevī, and returns, with her, to Dwārakā. Joy of Rukmiṇī and Kṛishṇa.

MAITREYA. — How, Muni, happened it that the hero Pradyumna was carried away by Śambara? And in what manner was the mighty Śambara killed by Pradyumna?

PARAŚARA. — When Pradyumna was but six days old, he was stolen, from the lying-in chamber, by Śambara, terrible as death;* for the demon foreknew that Pradyumna, if he lived, would be his destroyer.† Taking away the boy, Śambara cast him into the ocean, swarming with monsters,‡ — into a whirlpool of roaring waves, the haunt of the huge creatures of the deep.§ A large fish swallowed the child: but he died not, and was born anew, from its belly:¹ for that fish,

¹ The Bhāgavata tells the story in the same manner; but the Hari Vamśa omits the part of the fish.

* Here, as below, the original has *kalāśambara* i. e., according to Ratnagarbha, “black Śambara”, or “Śambara, equal to death.” Śrīdhara gives only the latter interpretation.

† षष्ठेऽङ्गि आतमाचं तु प्रयुक्तं सूतिकागृह्णात् ।
ममैव हनोति मुने हतवाम्बालशम्बरः ॥

‡ *Grahogra*.

§ कङ्गोलजनितावर्ते सुघोरे मकरालये ।
पतितं तच्च धीविको मन्त्र्यो जयाह बालकम् ।
न ममार च तस्यापि जठरेण न जीर्यते ॥

with others, was caught by the fishermen, and delivered, by them, to the great Asura Śambara. His wife Mâyādevī, the mistress of his household, superintended the operations of the cooks, and saw, when the fish was cut open, a beautiful child, looking like a new shoot of the blighted tree of love. Whilst wondering who this should be, and how he could have got into the belly of the fish, Nārada came, to satisfy her curiosity, and said to the graceful dame: "This is the son of him by whom the whole world is created and destroyed,*—the son of Vishṇu, who was stolen, by Śambara, from the lying-in chamber, and tossed (by him,) into the sea, where he was swallowed by the fish. He is now in thy power. Do thou, beautiful woman, tenderly† rear this jewel of mankind." Thus counselled by Nārada, Mâyādevī took charge of the boy, and carefully reared him, from childhood, being fascinated by the beauty of his person. Her affection became still more impassioned, when he was decorated with the bloom of adolescence. The gracefully-moving: Mâyāvati,§ then, fixing her heart and eyes upon the high-minded Pradyumna, gave him, whom she regarded as herself, all her magic (and illusive) powers. ||

So reads Śridhara. Ratnagarbha ends the second verse with चठरा-
नक्षदीपितः; several MSS. unaccompanied by commentary, with चठरेऽन-
क्षदीपितः ।

* समस्तवगतः सृष्टिसंहारकारिणः । † विश्रब्धा ।

‡ *Gajā-gāmini*; literally, "having the gait of an elephant."

§ Another name of Mâyādevī. Some MSS. yield, here and elsewhere, Mâyārati.

॥ मायावती ददौ चासी मायाः सर्वा महात्मने ।

प्रमुखायात्मभूताय तत्त्वसहस्रपेचसा ॥

Observing these marks of passionate affection, the son of Kṛishṇa* said to the lotos-eyed (Máyādevi): "Why do you indulge in feelings so unbecoming the character of a mother?" To which she replied: "Thou art not a son of mine; thou art the son of Vishṇu, whom Kāla Śambara† carried away, and threw into the sea. Thou wast swallowed by a fish, but wast rescued, by me, from its belly.‡ Thy fond mother, O beloved, is still weeping for thee." When the valiant§ Pradyumna heard this, he was filled with wrath, and defied Śambara to battle. In the conflict that ensued, the son of Mādhava|| slew the whole host of Śambara. Seven times he foiled the delusions of the enchanter, and, making himself master of the eighth, turned it against Śambara,¶ and killed him. By the same faculty he ascended into the air,** and proceeded to his father's house, where he alighted, along with Máya-vatī, in the inner apartments. When the women beheld Pradyumna, they thought it was Kṛishṇa himself. Rukmiṇī, her eyes dimmed with tears, spoke tenderly to him, and said: "Happy is she who has a son like this, in the bloom of youth. Such would be the age

This is the reading of Ratnagarbha. Śrīdhara begins the second verse with the words प्रद्युम्नायातिरागान्धा ।

* Kāṣhṇī, in the original.

† See note • in p. 73, *supra*.

‡ चित्तः समुद्रे मत्स्यस्य संग्राप्तो जठराश्रया ।

§ Mahā-bala.

|| Mādhavi, in the Sanskrit.

¶ Here the original again has *kāla-sambara*.

** In the original there is only the word उत्पत्य, to denote this procedure. Neither of the commentators remarks on the passage. See Vol. III., p. 311, note ||.

of my son Pradyumna, if he was alive. Who is the fortunate mother adorned by thee? And yet, from thy appearance, and from the affection I feel for thee, thou art, assuredly, the son of Hari."

At this moment, Kṛishṇa, accompanied by Nārada, arrived; and the latter said to the delighted Rukmiṇī:* "This is thine own son, who has come hither, after killing Śambara, by whom, when an infant, he was stolen from the lying-in chamber. This is the virtuous Māyavatī, his wife, and not the wife of Śambara. Hear the reason. When Manmatha (the deity of love,) had perished,¹ the goddess of beauty,† desirous to secure his revival, assumed a delusive form, and, by her charms, fascinated the demon Śambara, and exhibited herself to him in various illusory enjoyments.: This

¹ When he was reduced to ashes by a fiery glance from Śiva, in resentment of his inflaming him with passion for Umā. This legend is a favourite with the Śaiva Purāṇas, and is told in the Linga and Kālikā; also, in the Padma Purāṇa, and Kāśī Khaṇḍa of the Skanda Purāṇa. They do not say much about his resuscitation, however; Śiva, in pity of Rati's grief, restoring him only to a bodiless existence, as Ananga, whose place is to be in the hearts of men. The Linga adds, that, when Viṣṇu, in consequence of the curse of Bhṛigu, shall be born as the son of Vasudeva, Kāma shall be born as one of his sons.

* अन्तःपुरचरीं देवीं रुक्मिणीं प्राह हर्षयन् ।

I find no variants of this passage.

† This expression is to render *rūpiṇī*, "the beautiful one,"—an epithet, here, of Rati.

: Śrīdhara has व्यवसायभोगेषु । Ratnagarbha, while mentioning this lection, prefers विहारभोगेषु; and some MSS. of the mere text exhibit विवाहायुपभोगेषु । The Translator seems to have taken the first

thy son is the descended Káma; and this is (the goddess) Rati, his wife.¹ There is no occasion for any uncertainty: this is thy daughter-in-law."• Then Rukmíní was glad, and Keśava also. The whole city resounded with exclamations of joy;* and all the people of Dwárakā† were surprised at Rukmíní's recovering a son who had so long been lost.‡

¹ The daughter of Daksha, but not enumerated amongst those formerly specified (Vol. I., p. 109). She was born from his post-spiration, according to the Káliká Purána.

of these readings; in which, apparently, he thought he saw वायव्य°, in the sense of something 'airy' or 'unreal'. The whole expression signifies "sexual congress and other enjoyments".

नगरी च समस्ता सा साधु साध्वित्यभाषत ।

† The original has Dwáravatí.

* The rendering of this Chapter deviates rather more widely than usual from literality.

CHAPTER XXVIII

Wives of Kṛishṇa. Pradyumna has Aniruddha: nuptials of the latter. Balarāma, beat at dice, becomes incensed, and slays Rukmin and others.

RUKMIṆĪ bare to Kṛishṇa these other sons: Chārudeśhṇa, Sudeshṇa, Chārudeha,* Susheṇa, Chārugupta, Bhadrachāru, Chāruvinda,† Suchāru, and the very mighty Chāru:‡ also, one daughter, Chārumatī. Kṛishṇa "had seven other beautiful wives:§ Kā-

* *Mahābala*, in one MS., follows Chārudeha. It would be difficult to prove that it is not a proper name.

† Instead of Susheṇa and Chāruvinda, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* has Vi-chāru and Chāruchandra.

‡ A single copy has Chandra.

Several other sons of Rukmiṇī, elsewhere recognized as such, are here unnoticed. See Vol. IV., p. 112, note **.

§ The original is as follows:

अन्यास भायाः कृष्णस्य बभूवुः सप्त शोभनाः ।

It is signified, by this verse, that seven beautiful wives are about to be named; but it is not expressly said that the specification is restricted to seven wives, or to beautiful ones only. The commentators, however, endeavour to reduce the catalogue to a septenary. Śrīdhara's identification, in order to this reduction, is spoken of, by the Translator, in his note in p. 81, *infra*, but is not accepted by him. Further particulars Śrīdhara does not enter into; and the Translator, who does not even allude to Ratnagarbha's roll* of the ladies, assumes that we are to find, here, precisely the same seven—and no more,—that are enumerated at the beginning of Chapter XXXII. of this Book. But, as will appear from my annotations that follow, it is more or less possible that several wives are designated, over and above the heptad with which the commentators content themselves. My Ajmere MS. ends the verse quoted above with **बभूवुस्त्वतिशोभनाः**; thus premising 'very beautiful' wives,—not simply 'beautiful',—and omitting all definition of their number.

Ratnagarbha asserts that the seven are: Mitravindā, Satyā, Jāmbavatī, Rohiṇī, Suśilā, Satyabhāmā, and Lakshmaṇā; and the words connected with these names are, he pronounces, epithets. Unlike Śrīdhara, he

lindī,* Mitravindā,† the virtuous; Nágnajitī,§ the queen|| Jāmbavatī;¶ Rohiṇī,** of beautiful form;†† the

takes Jāmbavatī to be a different person from Rohiṇī; and he considers Kālindī to be a synonym of Mitravindā.

In Vol. IV., p. 112, we read that Kṛishṇa's principal wives "were Rukmiṇī, Satyabhāmā, Jāmbavatī, Chāruhāsini, and four others." If we knew who these four others were, it could be ascertained how far the principal wives tallied with the beautiful ones, and whether the group under discussion contains additions to those two categories.

* For her origin, see Vol. IV., p. 286, note *. Her offspring, as named in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, were Śruta, Kavi, Viśha, Vira, Subāhu, Bhadra, Śānti, Darśa, Pūrṇamāsa, and Somaka.

† Corrected from "Mitravindā", which I find nowhere but in a carelessly executed copy of Śrīdhara's text and commentary, to which Professor Wilson was very partial, and which he too often used without controlling it.

Mitravindā's children, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, alleges, were ten: Vṛika, Harsha, Anila, Grīdhra, Vardhana, Annāda, Mahāśa, Pāvana, Vahni, and Kshudhi.

‡ The original is सखा नग्नजिती तथा । According to Śrīdhara, in his commentary on the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, the lady here intended is Satyā, patronymically called Nágnajitī. For the Translator's "the virtuous Nágnajitī", we should, therefore, read 'Satyā, daughter of Nagnajit.' M. Langlois makes the same mistake, in his translation of the *Harivamśa*, Vol. I., p. 500. See further, note § in the preceding page, and note ‡ in p. 82, *infra*.

§ Mother, the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* alleges, of Vira, Chandra, Aśwasena, Chitrāgu, Vegavat, Vṛisha, Āma, Śanku, Vasu, and Kuntī.

|| देवी जाम्बवती चापि । It is barely possible that we should read 'Devi,' not "the queen". Compare the *Harivamśa*, śl. 9179.

For Jāmbavatī, see Vol. IV., p. 79.

¶ The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* represents her as mother of Sāmba, Sumitra, Purujit, Śatajit, Sahasrajit, Vijaya, Chitraketu, Vasumat, Draviḍa, and Kratu.

** An elder Rohiṇī was one of Kṛishṇa's numerous step-mothers. See Vol. IV., pp. 109 and 260.

Kṛishṇa's wife Rohiṇī had, on the authority of the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, the following sons: Vāma, Āyus, Satyaka, Diptimat, Tāmratapta, and others unnamed.

†† कामरूपिणी । Possibly, this is a proper name, Kāmarūpini; but, probably, it is an epithet. See the *Harivamśa*, śl. 6701.

amiable and excellent daughter of the king of Madra,*

* *Madraraja*. Leaving out of question the interpretation "king of Madra", our choice lies, according to circumstances, between "king of the Madras" and "King Madra." In the purest Sanskrit, only the former of these two significations is admissible. There are many cases, in later literature, similar to *Madrarāja*, thus considered: such as *Kāśirāja*, *Vatsarāja*, *Bhojarāja*, *Bhojapati*, &c. &c. Instances in which there is not the option spoken of above, but in which, at variance with classical canons, substantival members of a compound stand in apposition, are *Varadarāja*, *Bhojadeva*, *Kamadeva*, *Madhavadēva*, *Nandēśa*, *Venkateśa*, *Bhāṭṭeśa*, *Kāpaleśvara*, *Ramesvara*, *Gorakshanatha*, *Seshanāga*, *Aghāśura*, &c. &c.

Madri's father might, as has been said, be *Madraraja* in the sense of "King Madra"; only no such ruler has been discovered among Kṛishna's contemporaries. Conclusively, Lakshmaṇa—as the lady who bears the patronym of Madri is distinctively called,—is said, in the *Bhāgavatapurāṇa*, to have been daughter of *Madrādhipati*, which it would be very unsafe to translate otherwise than by "king of the Madras".

In Sanskrit, names of countries and kingdoms are denoted, very frequently, by compounds ending with a word for country or kingdom,—*deśa*, *vishaya*, *raja*, *rashtra*. Examples of such names standing independently are rare, and seem to be confined to feminines. Most generally a plural is employed, and this plural imports a people. Thus, where we should be disposed to say "he lives in Malava", an ancient Hindu would have said "he lives in the country of the Mālavas", *वसति मालवदेशे*, or, in accordance with the somewhat more prevalent idiom, "he lives among the Malavas", *वसति मालवेषु*.

The preponderant usage here referred to may, perhaps, be accounted for in this wise. The earliest Hindus were grouped in tribes, not in nations, and these tribes were distinguished by lineage, not by place of abode. The titles which they bore were eponymous; and it should seem that they were long in acquiring fixed habitations. Hence, it may be surmised,—and not for the reason that led Louis Philippe to style himself "king of the French"—it is that we read of, for instance, "the king of the Panchālas"; somewhat as, from a sense of vagueness, the Yavanas, Hunās, Chinas, Turushkas, and Śakas were never localized, further than by the indeterminate forms *Yavana-deśa*, "country of the Yavanas," and the like. In later times, as history informs us, kingdoms of more or less definite bounds were established, and lasted for long periods. But the old idiom had become so firmly rooted as, in spite of the altered state of things, to hold its ground; and the option of mentioning a region or state (by its simple name), instead of its people, was seldom accepted. The sole exceptions seem to be afforded

(Mādrī);* Satyabhāmā,† the daughter of Sattrājita;‡ and Lakshmaṇā, of lovely smiles.¹§ Besides these,

¹ The number specified, however, both in this place and in Chapter XXXII., is nine, instead of eight. The commentator endeavours to explain the difference, by identifying Rohiṇī with Jāmbavatī. But, in the notices of Kṛishṇā's posterity, both in

by the names of cities which were, of themselves, kingdoms; and most Hindu cities bore appellations of the feminine gender. The Kurukshetra, Mashnāra, Sāchiguṇā, and Avachatnuka of the *Āitareya-brāhmaṇa* I take to be cities with masculine names,—like Kanyakubja, &c.,—not countries.

If this view be not fallacious, we can, therefore, only plead convenience, when we speak of Abhira, Ānarta, Chedi, Kerala, Kosala, Kuru, Madra, Magadha, Mālava, Śūrasena, &c. &c., after the manner of the latest and most corrupt Sanskrit, and of the living vernaculars of India. Similarly, we find, in Latin, only *Sabinorum ager* or *Sabinus ager*, and in *Sabinus versari*, in *Sabinos proficisci*: but, in the present day, we have *la Sabina*. The Greeks, it is true, devised the name *Σαβίνη*; and, in the same way, they invented the names Abiria, Cirrhadia, Gandaritis, etc., though the ancient Hindus recognized no countries denominated Abhira, Kīrāta, Gandhāra, &c.

* I have parenthesized this name, as being added by the Translator. The original has सुशीला शीलमय्यना । The latter word is, palpably, an epithet of the former, and suggested thereby. The *Harivaṃśa*, śl. 6700, places this point beyond all doubt. We must read, therefore, "Suśilā," and eliminate "amiable and excellent". *Vide supra*, p. 78, note §. Suśilā appears, in p. 107, *infra*, under her patronym Mādrī.

† To Mādrī the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* assigns progeny bearing the names of Praghosha, Gātravat, Sindhā, Bala, Prabala, Ūrdhwaga, Mahāsakti, Saha, Ija, and Parājita.

‡ According to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, she had ten children: Bhānu, Subhānu, Swarbhānu, Prabhānu, Bhānumat, Chandrabhānu, Bīhadbhānu, Atibhānu, Śrībhānu, and Pratibhānu.

§ Corrected from "Śatrujit". The original has Sattrājiti, patronymic of Sattrājita, for whom and his daughter Satyabhāmā, see Vol. IV., pp. 79, 80.

§ चारुहासिनी । Here we have, possibly, another name of Lakshmaṇā, rather than an epithet. For Chāruhaṣini, see Vol. IV., p. 112, note 1. Also see note § in p. 83, *infra*. My Ajmere MS. gives प्रियदर्शना; and Priyadarśanā, too, is a lady's name, as in my *Vāsavadattā*, p. 236.

|| Śrīdhara is intended. *Vide supra*, p. 78, note §.

V.

he* had sixteen thousand other wives.^{1†}

this work and in the Bhāgavata, she is distinct from Jāmbavatī. She seems, however, to be an addition to the more usually specified eight, of whose several marriages the Bhāgavata gives the best account. In addition to the three first,—respecting whom particulars are found in all,—Kālindī, or the Yamunā,[‡] is the daughter of the Sun, whom Kṛishṇa meets on one of his visits to Indraprastha,[§] and who claims him as the reward of her penance. His next wife, Mitravindā, is the daughter of his maternal aunt, Rājādhidevī (Vol. IV., pp. 101 and 103). and sister of Vinda and Anuvinda, kings of Avanti: she chooses him at her Swayāṁvara. The Hari Vanīśa ¶ calls her Sudattā,** daughter of Śibi; and she is, subsequently, termed Śaihyā by our text.†† Nāgnajit, or Satyā,‡‡ the next wife, was the daughter of Nagnajit, king of Kauśala,§§ and was the prize of Kṛishṇa's overcoming seven fierce bulls, whom no other hero had encountered with success. Bhadrā, princess of Kekaya, ¶¶—also Kṛishṇa's cousin, the daughter of Śrutakīrti (Vol. IV., pp. 101 and 103),—was his next; and his eighth* wife was Mādri,*** the daughter of the

* Chakrin, in the original.

† In all, Kṛishṇa's wives amounted to sixteen thousand and one hundred, as we read in Vol. IV., p. 112. But *vide infra*, p. 105, note §§.

‡ See Vol. III., p. 20.

§ A city on the Jumna, near the present Delhi. It belonged to the Pāṇḍavas. See Vol. IV., supplementary note on p. 103.

¶ Śl. 9179 and 9187. In Sl. 6703 of the same work, this or another daughter of Śibi seems to be called Tanwī.

** Corrected from "Saudattā". See note ¶ in the page following.

†† In p. 107, *infra*.

‡‡ Transformed, in the text, into "the virtuous". See note ‡ in p. 79, *supra*.

§§ The Bhāgavata-purāṇa describes Nagnajit as *Kausalya*, which Śrīdhara interprets by *Ayodhyā-pati*, "King of Ayodhyā"; and this city was the capital of Kosala.

¶¶ Her children, we read in the Bhāgavata-purāṇa, were Sangrāmajit, Bṛīhatsena, Śūra, Prabarāṇa, Arijit, Jaya, and Subhadra.

¶¶ See Vol. IV., p. 103, text and note §. The Bhāgavata-purāṇa simply gives Bhadrā the epithet Kaikeyī. *** See note * in the last page

The heroic Pradyumna was chosen, for her lord, at her public choice of a husband, by the daughter of Rukmin;* and he had, by her, the powerful and gallant prince Aniruddha, who was fierce in fight,† an ocean of prowess, and the tamer of his foes. Keśava demanded, in marriage, for him, the granddaughter of

king of Madra,‡—named, according to the Bhāgavata, Lakshmaṇā,§ and, to the Hari Vaiṣṇa, Subhīmā; distinguishing, as does our text, clearly, Lakshmaṇā from Mādri, and, like it, having no satisfactory equivalent for Bhadrā. The Hari Vaiṣṇa does not name Rohiṇī, but specifies other names, as Brīṣṭatī,¶ &c. In the life of Kṛishṇa—taken from the Bhāgavata, through a Persian translation,—published by Maurice, there is a curious instance of the barbarous distortion of Sanskrit names by the joint labours of the English and Persian translators. The wives of Kṛishṇa are written: Rokemenec (Rukmiṇī), Setubhavani (Satya-dhāmā), Jamoometec (Jāmbavati), Kalenderee (Kālindī), Lecheepa (Lakshmaṇā), Soeta (Satyā), Blēdravatee (Bhadrā), Miabenda (Mitravindā).

* These, according to the Mahābhārata, Ādi Parvan, were apsarasas, or nymphs. In the Dāna Dharma, they become Kṛishṇa's wives through a boon given him by Umā.

* Kakudmati was her name. See Vol. IV., p. 112, text and note ††. The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* calls her Rukmavati, also. For Rukmin, *vide supra*, p. 67.

† रणे कुडः ।

‡ *Vide supra*, p. 80, note *.

§ Corrected from "Lakshmaṇā". *Vide supra*, p. 80; note *. In the *Harivaṃśa*, sl. 6702 and 9179, Lakshmaṇā takes the place of Mādri, and followed, according to the Calcutta and Bombay editions, by जालसिनी, for which see Vol. IV., p. 112, note *. Is it a third synonym? *vide supra*, p. 81, note §.

¶ Corrected from "Saubhīmā". See the *Harivaṃśa*, sl. 9180.

Professor Wilson's "Saudattā" and "Saubhīmā" were taken, I suspect, from the "Soudattā" and "Soubhīmā" of M. Langlois; his *ou*, a transcribing of उ, u, being supposed to represent औ, au.

‡ Daughter of Sibi. *Harivaṃśa*, sl. 9192. .

Rukmin; and, although the latter was inimical to Kṛishṇa,* he betrothed the maiden† (who was his son's daughter,) to the son of his own daughter (his cousin Aniruddha). Upon the occasion of the nuptial Rāma and other Yādavas attended Kṛishṇa: to Bhojakaṭa, the city of Rukmin. After the wedding§ has been solemnized, several of the kings, headed by his brother of Kaliuga, said to Rukmin: "This wielder of the ploughshare¶ is ignorant of the dice, which may be converted into his misfortune. Why may we not contend with him, and beat him in play?"** The potent Rukmin replied to them, and said "So let it be." And he engaged Balarāma†† at a game of dice, in the palace. Balarāma:: soon lost to Rukmin a thousand Nishkas.¹ He then staked and lost another thousand

¹ The Nishka is a weight of gold, but, according to different authorities, of very different amount. The commentators §§ here terms it a weight of four Suvarṇas, each about 175 grains Troy.

* Śauri, in the original.

† Subhadrā. See Vol. IV., p. 112.

‡ The Sanskrit has Hari.

§ Of Prādyumni,—according to the original,—that is to say, Aniruddha.

¶ कलिङ्गराजप्रमुखाः, "the king of Kalinga, and others."

¶ Halin, i. e., Balarāma. Vide *supra*, p. 63, note . and p. 65, note .

** अनवचो हसी बूते तथास्य वसनं महत् ।

न जयामो वलं कस्माद्युतेनैव महाबूते ॥

Ratnagarbha has अनभिज्ञः instead of अनवचः ।

†† Rāma, in the original.

• :: The Sanskrit has Bala.

§§ Śrīdhara. Ratnagarbha is silent.

¶ In reckoning money by tale, the *nishka*, according to the first chapter of the *Līlāvati*, is equivalent to sixteen *drammas*. See Colebrooke's *Algebra*, &c., p. 1.

and then pledged ten thousand, which Rukmin, who was well skilled in gambling, also won. At this, the king of Kalinga laughed aloud;* and the weak and exulting Rukmin grinned, and said:† Baladeva is losing; for he knows nothing of the game; although, blinded by a vain passion for play, he thinks he understands the dice.‡ Haláyudha, galled by the broad laughter of the Kalinga prince,§ and the contemptuous speech of Rukmin, was (exceedingly) angry, and, overcome with passion, increased his stake to ten millions of Nishkas. Rukmin accepted the challenge, and, therefore, threw the dice. Baladeva won, and cried aloud "The stake is mine." But Rukmin called out, as loudly, that he was the winner. "Tell no lies, Bala," said he. "The stake is yours; that is true: but I did not agree to it. Although this be won by you, yet still I am the winner."¶ A deep voice was then heard in the sky,—inflaming still more the anger of the high-spirited Baladeva,—saying: "Bala has rightly won the whole sum, and Rukmin speaks falsely. Although he did not accept the pledge in words, he did so by his acts,** (having cast the dice)." Bala-

* *Svanavat.*

† दन्तान्विदर्शयन्मूढो रुक्मी चाह महोद्धतः ।

‡ मुधेवासावलेपान्धो यः स्वं मेनेऽचकोविदम् ।

So read most MSS., and Sridhara. Ratnagarbha has-

मुधेवासावलेपान्धो योऽवमेनेऽचकोविदम् ।

§ दृष्ट्वा कलिङ्गराजानं प्रकाशदशनाननम् ।

चलीकोत्तीरलं बलः "Have done with lies, Bala."

¶ एवं त्वया चेद्विजितं मया न विजितं कथम् ।

The expression in the original looks proverbial:

अनुत्थापि वचः किञ्चित्कृतं भवति कर्मणा ।

rāma,* thus excited, his eyes red with rage, started up, and struck Rukmin with the board on which the game was played,† and killed him.‡ Taking hold of the trembling king of Kalinga, he knocked out the teeth which he had shown when he laughed.: Laying hold of a golden column, he dragged it from its place, and used it as a weapon to kill those princes who had taken part with his adversaries.§ Upon which, the whole circle, crying out with terror, took to flight, and escaped from the wrath of Baladeva. When Kṛishna¶ heard that Rukmin had been killed by his brother, he made no remark, being afraid of Rukmiṇi (on the one hand,) and of Bala (on the other); but, taking with him the (newly) wedded Aniruddha, and the Yādava tribe, he** returned to Dwārakā.

‡ The Bhāgavata and Hari Vamśa—which, both, tell this story, agree in the death of Rukmin; but, in the Mahābhārata, he appears, in the war, on the side of the Pāṇḍavas. The occurrence is a not very favourable picture of courtly manners; but scenes of violence have never been infrequent at the courts of Rajpoot princes.

* The Sanskrit has Bala.

† *Ashṭāpada*.

‡ See the original words quoted in note § in the preceding page.

§ आकृष्य च महास्तम्भं जातरूपमयं बलः ।

जघान येऽन्ये तत्पक्षा भूभृतः कुपितो बलात् ॥

॥ ततो हाहाकृतं सर्वं पलायनपरं द्विज ।

तद्वाजमण्डलं सर्वं बभूव कुपिते बले ॥

¶ Madhusūdana, in the original.

** Keśava, according to the reading accepted by Śrīdhara. The other, Ratnagarbha's lection, represents Bala as leading off Keśava and the rest.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Indra comes to Dwáráká, and reports to Kṛishná the tyranny of Naraka. Kṛishná goes to his city, and puts him to death. Earth gives the ear-rings of Aditi to Kṛishná, and praises him. He liberates the princesses made captive by Naraka, sends them to Dwáráká, and goes to Swarga, with Satyabhámá.

ŚAKRA,* the lord of the three worlds, came mounted on his fierce† (elephant,) Airávata, to (visit) Śauri (Kṛishná,) at Dwáráká.‡ Having entered the city, and been welcomed by Hari, he related (to the hero) the deeds of the demon§ Naraka. "By thee, Madhusúdana, lord of the gods," said Indra, "in a mortal condition, all sufferings have been soothed. Arishṭa, Dhenuka, Chánúra, Mushṭika,¶ Keśin, who sought to injure helpless man,** have, all, been slain by thee. Kaṁsa, Kuvalayápíḍa, the child-destroying Pútaná, have been killed by thee; and so have other oppressors of the world. By thy valour and wisdom

* Or Indra. For him and his mother, see Vol. II., p. 27. Śakra and Iari were, both, sons of Aditi. See Vol. I., p. 151; and Vol. III., p. 18, ext and notes 1 and †.

† *Matta*.

‡ Dwáravati, in the original.

§ Daitya. See the next note.

¶ The less famous Naraka was son of Viprachitti, son of Kaśyapa and Danu, and, hence, was a Dánava, according to our Purána. See Vol. II., p. 70—72. The Naraka of the text was not a Dánava; nor can he be alled a Daitya, except by a very loose use of the term. As appears from note 1 in the next page, his father was Vishnu; and our text expresses that his mother was Bhúmi.

¶ Ratnagarbha's text does not mention the two pancratiasts Chánúra and Mushṭika.

** *Tapaswi-jana*.

the three worlds have been*preserved;† and the gods obtaining their share of the sacrifices offered by the devout, enjoy satisfaction. But now hear the occasion on which I have come to thee, and which thou art able to remedy.‡ The son of the earth,¹: called Naraka, who rules over the city of Prágjyotisha,²§ inflicts a great injury upon all creatures. Carrying off the maidens of gods, saints, ; demons, and kings, he shuts them up in his own palace.¶ He has taken away the umbrella of Varuṇa,** impermeable to water, the jewel-mountain crest of Mandara,†† and the celestial nectar-dropping ear-rings of my mother:: Aditi; §§ and

¹ By Vishnu, as the Varāha Avatāra; but found and adopted by Janaka. Kālikā Purāṇa.

² In the centre of the country of Kāmarūpa, ¶¶ inhabited by Kirātas; the site of the shrines of Devi, as Dikkaravasini and Kāmākhyā.*** Kālikā Purāṇa.

• युष्मद्दीर्घसदुश्चिपरिचते जगत्त्रये ।

† सोऽहं साम्रतमायातो यन्निमित्तं जगार्दन ।

तच्छुत्वा तत्प्रतीकारप्रयत्नं कर्तुमर्हसि ॥

‡ Bhauma.

§ The original does not make him ruler over that city, but simply says that it was the scene of his cruelties.

For Prágjyotisha, *vide supra*, p. 55, note †.

¶ Siddha.

¶¶ Mandira.

** Called Prachetas, in the Sanskrit.

†† See Vol. II., p. 115.

:: See note • in the preceding page.

§§ Corrected, here and everywhere below, from "Aditi".

¶¶ See Vol. I., p. 61, note 2, *ad finem*.

¶¶¶ *Vide supra*, p. 54, note 2.

*** In Assam, according to Professor Wilson, in his collected Works. Vol. III., p. 77. Also see Vol. I., Preface, p. XC. of the present work, where correct "Kāmākshyā".

he now demands my elephant, Airāvata.* I have thus, explained to you, Govinda, the tyranny of the Asura. You can best determine how it is to be prevented."†

Having heard this account, the divine Hari: (gently) smiled, and, rising from his throne,§ took Indra by the hand. Then, wishing for the eater of the serpents, Garuḍa immediately appeared; upon whom his master, having first seated Satyabhāmā upon his back, ascended, and flew to Prāgjyotiṣha. Indra¶ mounted his elephant, and, in the sight of the inhabitants, of Dwārakā, went to the abode of the gods.

The environs of Prāgjyotiṣha were defended by nooses, constructed by the demon Muru,** the edges of which were as sharp as razors:†† but Hari, throwing his discus Sudarśana:: (amongst them), cut them to pieces. Then Muru started up; but Keśava slew him,

अमृतस्राविणी दिव्ये मन्त्रातुः कृष्ण कुण्डले ।
अहार सोऽसुरोऽदित्या वाञ्छितैरावतैर्गजम् ॥

So reads Śrīdhara. Ratnagarbha has, for the first verse:

अमृतस्राविणी दिव्ये मणिनिर्मितकुण्डले ।

Some MSS., further, deviate from Śrīdhara's reading only by नास्त्रा ते. instead of मन्त्रातुः; from which it appears that the ear-rings were called Divya.

† यद्वच प्रतिपत्तव्यं तत्स्वयं प्रविमृशताम् ।

‡ "Son of Devaki," after the Sanskrit.

§ Varāṣana.

|| In the original, Vāsava.

¶ Sakra, in the Sanskrit.

** Vide *supra*, p. 54, notes 2 and , and p. 55, note *.

†† प्राग्ज्योतिषपुरस्थासीत्समन्ताच्छतयोजनम्

आचिता मीरवीः पाशैः पुरानीर्भूर्विजोत्तम ॥

:: We have before had mention of it. See Vol. II., p. 52.

and burnt his* seven thousand sons, like moths,† with the flame of the edge of his discus. Having slain Muru, Hayagrīva,‡ and Panchajana.§ the wise Hari rapidly reached the city of Prāgjyotisha. There a (fierce) conflict took place with the troops of Naraka, in which Govinda destroyed thousands of demons; and, when Naraka came into the field, showering upon the deity all sorts of weapons, the wielder of the discus and annihilator of the demon-tribe cut him in two with his celestial missile.¶ Naraka being slain, Earth,** bearing the two ear-rings of Aditi, approached the lord of the world.†† and said: "When, O lord, I was upheld by thee in the form of a boar, thy contact then engendered this my son. He whom thou gavest me has now been killed by thee. Take (therefore,) these two ear-rings, and cherish his progeny. Thou, lord, whose aspect is (ever) gracious,‡‡ hast come to this sphere, in a portion of thyself, to lighten my burthen. Thou art the eternal§§ creator, preserver, and destroyer

* **मुरोच**, or else **मुरोक्ष**, in the original. The variant of some copies, **मुरस्त्र**, substitutes Mura for Muru. These persons—whose names are often confounded in MSS.—were, both, slain by Kṛishṇa. The latter is said, by Śrīdhara, to have been a Rākshasa.

† *Śalobha*.

‡ *Vide supra*, p. 2, note ¶.

§ *Vide supra*, p. 48.

¶ *Samupādravat*, "assaulted."

¶ **शस्त्रास्त्रवर्षे मुञ्चन्तं भीमं तं नरकं बली ।**

चिप्त्वा चक्रं द्विधा चक्रे चक्री दैतेयचक्रहा ॥

** Bhūmī.

†† *Jagannātha*.

‡‡ **प्रसादसुमुखः ।**

§§ *Ayaya*. See Vol. I., p. 17, note *.

¶¶ *Vikartī*; 'transformer,' literally: "by means of rain and the like," say the commentators.

of the universe; the origin of all worlds; and one with the universe.* What praise can be worthily offered to thee?† Thou art the pervader, and that which is pervaded; the act, the agent, and the effect; the universal spirit of all beings. What praise can be worthily offered to thee?‡ Thou art the abstract soul, the sentient and the living soul of all beings, the imperishable. But, since it is not possible to praise thee worthily, then why should the hopeless attempt proceed?§ Have compassion, O universal soul, and forgive the sins which Naraka has committed. Verily, it is for the sanctification of thy son, that he has been killed by thee.” The lord, who is the substance of all creatures, ¶ having replied to the Earth** “Even so,” proceeded to redeem the (various) gems from the dwelling of Naraka. In the apartments of the women †† he found sixteen thousand and one hundred damsels.¹

¹ These were captive princesses, according to the Bhāgavata:

* Of this passage there are several different readings, of little consequence.

† सूयतेऽद्युत किं तव ।

‡ Here the translation is not literal.

§ परमात्मा त्वमात्मा च भूतात्मा चाव्ययो भवान् ।

यदा तदा क्षुतिर्नास्ति किमर्थो ते प्रवर्तते ॥

Ratnagarbha says: नास्तित्वमेवाह । किमर्थो । किमाश्रया ।

For the expressions *paramātman*, *ātman*, and *bhūtātman*, here employed, *vide supra*, p. 14, note ††.

अदोषाय तत्सुतः स निपातितः । So reads Śrīdhara; and his explanation has been followed by the Translator. Ratnagarbha speaks of his lection, but prefers to end the verse with तत्सुतिः परिपाद्यतां; in accepting which he connects अदोषाय with चम्यतां, which precedes it.

¶ *Bhūta-bhāvana*, “creator of beings.”

** Dharāṇi.

†† *Kanyā-pura*.

He also beheld (in the palace,) six thousand large* elephants,† each having four tusks; twenty-one lakhs‡ of horses of Kāmboja§ and other excellent breeds. These¶ Govinda despatched to Dwārakā, in charge of the servants of Naraka. The umbrella of Varuṇa, the jewel-mountain, which he also recovered, he placed upon Garuḍa;** and, mounting him, himself, and taking Satyabhāmā with him, he set off to the heaven of the gods, to restore the ear-rings of Aditi.¹

Apsarasas, or celestial nymphs, according to the Kālikā Purāṇa: and these, upon their rescue by Kṛishṇa, became his wives.††

¹ The legend of Naraka is related, in more detail, in the Bhāgavata and Hari Vaṁśa, but is still more fully narrated in the Kālikā Upapurāṇa. It may be considered as one of the various intimations that occur in the Purāṇas, of hostilities between the worshippers of Vishṇu and Śiva; Naraka being, in an especial degree, favoured by the latter.

* *Ugra*.

† According to the reading of some MSS., there were as many horses, — common ones, it is to be supposed, since a particular kind is specified just below.

‡ *Niyuta*; a term variously defined by different authorities. See notes on the beginning of Chapter III. of Book VI.

§ काम्बोजानाम् । For the Kambojas, see Vol. III., p. 291, note 1.

I find nothing, in the original, answering to the words “and other excellent breeds”.

¶ That is to say, agreeably to the original, the girls, the elephants, and the horses.

“ ददुशे वारुणं क्वचं तथैव मणिपर्वतम् ।

आरोपयामास हरिर्महते पद्मगाशने ॥

I find no variants of this stanza, save as to its closing word, which Rātnagarbha reads पतनेश्वरे ।

†† According to the text of our Purāṇa, also, Kṛishṇa married them. Vide *infra*, p. 105.

CHAPTER XXX.

Kṛishná restores her ear-rings to Aditi, and is praised by her: he visits the gardens of Indra, and, at the desire of Satyabhámá, carries off the Párijáta-tree. Śachí excites Indra to its rescue. Conflict between the gods and Kṛishná, who defeats them.

Satyabhámá derides them. They praise Kṛishná.

GARUḌA. laden with the umbrella of Varuṇa, and the jewel-mountain, and bearing Hṛishikeśa* (on his back, to the court of Indra), went (lightly); as if in sport, along. When they arrived at the portals of Swarga, Hari blew his shell; on which the gods advanced to meet him, bearing respectful offerings.† Having received the homage of the divinities, Kṛishná went to the palace of the mother of the gods, whose turrets‡ resembled white clouds; and, on beholding Aditi, paid his respects to her, along with Śakra: and, presenting to her her own ear-rings, informed her of the destruction of (the demon) Naraka. The mother of the world, well pleased, then fixed her whole thoughts upon Hari, the creator, and thus pronounced his praise: "Glory to thee, O god with the lotos-eyes, who removest all fear from those that worship thee. Thou art the eternal, universal, and living soul; the origin of all beings;§ the instigator of the mental fac-

* "And his wife:" सभार्यं च हृषीकेशम् । For Hṛishikeśa. see Vol. I., p. 2, note 1.

† सार्धपाचाः ।

‡ Śikhara.

§ सनातनात्मन्सर्वात्मभूतात्मभूतभावन ।

ulty and faculties of sense;* one with the three qualities: beyond the three qualities; exempt from contraries: pure: existing in the hearts of all; void of colour, extension, and every transient modification;† unaffected by (the vicissitudes of) birth, or death, sleep, or waking. Thou art evening,‡ night, and day; earth, sky, air, water, and fire: mind, intellect, and individuality.§ Thou art the agent of creation, duration, and dissolution; the master over the agent;—in thy forms which are called Brahmā, Vishūu, and Śiva. Thou art gods, Yakshas, Daityas, Rākshasas, Siddhas, Pannagas, Kūshmāṇḍas, Piśāchas, Gandharvas, men, animals,¶ deer,** elephants, reptiles,†† trees, shrubs, creepers,‡‡ climbers,§§ and grasses; all things large, middling, small, immense, or minute: thou art all bodies whatsoever, composed of aggregated atoms.¶¶ This thy illusion beguiles all who are ignorant of thy true nature,—the fools who imagine soul to be in that

* प्रणेता मनसो बुद्धेरिन्द्रियाणाम् ।

† सितदीर्घादिनिःशेषकल्पनापरिवर्जित ।

‡ Sandhyā.

§ भूतादिः । Ratnagarbha explains it by *ahaiṅkāra*. For *bhūtādi*, see Vol. I., p. 33, note *.

Corrected from "Punnagas". *Pannaga* is the same as *sarpa*, for which see Vol. I., p. 83. The next term, "Kūshmāṇḍas," is rendered "goblins" in Vol. IV., p. 277.

¶ *Paśu*; "sacrificial animals." Vide *supra*, p. 59, note **.

** *Mṛiga*, "wild beasts."

†† *Sarīśrīpa*. See Vol. I., p. 84, note §; and Vol. II., p. 92, text and note §.

‡‡ *Lata*.

§§ *Valli*.

For similar enumerations† see Vol. I., p. 84; and Vol. II., p. 92.

¶¶ देहभेदा भवान्तर्वे ये केचित्सुब्रह्माश्रयाः ।

which is not spirit.* The notions that "I am—this is mine", which influence mankind, are but the delusions of the mother of the world, originating in thy active agency.† Those men who, attentive to their duties, diligently worship thee, traverse all this illusion, and obtain spiritual freedom. Brahmá and all the gods, men, and animals,‡ are, alike, invested by the thick darkness of fascination, in the gulf of the illusions of Vishnú. That men who, having worshipped thee, should seek the gratification of their desires, and their own preservation,—this, O lord, is, also, thy delusion. It is the sport of thy fascinations that induces men to glorify thee, to obtain, thereby, the continuance of their race, or the annihilation of their enemies, instead of eternal liberation.§ It is the fault of the impure acts of the unrighteous (to proffer such idle requests to one able to confer much more important benefits),—like asking for a rag to cover one's nakedness|| from the tree that bestows whatever is solicited.¶ Be propitious,

• माया तवेयमज्ञातपरमार्थातिमोहिनी ।

अनात्मन्यात्मविज्ञानं यथा मूढोऽनुबध्यते ॥

At the end of the second verse, in lieu of अनुबध्यते, the reading of Sridhara, Ratnagarbha has अनुवध्यते. Another lection which I find is निबध्यते ।

† अहं ममेति भावोऽत्र यत्पुंसामभिजायते ।

संसारमातुर्मायायास्तवैतन्नाथ चेष्टितम् ॥

‡ *Paku.*

§ आराध्य त्वामभीप्सुने कामान्नात्मभवक्षयम् ।

यदेति पुष्ट्वा माया सेवेयं भगवंस्तव ॥

मया त्वं पुष्टकामिन्या वैरिपक्षक्षयाय च ।

आराधितो न मोक्षाय मायाविलसितं हि तत् ॥

|| *Kaupina.*

¶ *Kalpadruma.*

then, imperishable, author of all the error that deceives the world; and dispel, O lord of all creatures, the conceit of knowledge, which proceeds from ignorance.* Glory to thee, grasper of the discus, wielder of the bow brandisher of the mace, holder of the shell! For such do I behold thee, in thy perceptible form. Nor do I know that form of thine which is beyond perception. Have compassion on me, supreme god."†

Vishnú, thus hymned by Aditi, smiled, and said to the mother of the gods: "Mother, goddess, do thou show favour unto me, and grant me thy blessing."‡ "So be it," replied Aditi, "even as thou wilt; and, (whilst thou dwellest) amongst mortals, the first of men,¶ thou shalt be invincible by gods or demons." Then Satyabhámá, accompanied by the queen of Indra,** addressed Aditi respectfully, and solicited her benedictions; and Aditi (in reply,) said to her: "Fair-browed dame, thou shalt never suffer decay, nor loss of beauty. Thou shalt be the asylum of all loveliness, dame of

* अज्ञानं ज्ञानसङ्गावभूतं भूतेश नाशय ।

Ratnagarbha says: ज्ञानसङ्गावभूतम् । ज्ञानवानहमित्यभिमानात्कम् । And Śridhara comments to precisely the same effect.

† एतत्पञ्चामि ते रूपं खूलचिह्नोपलक्षितम् ॥

न जानामि परं यत्ते प्रसीद परमेश्वर ॥

; *Surārañi*. Similarly, Kuntī is called *Pāṇḍavārāñi*, in the *Mahābhārata*.

For *arāñi*, see Vol. III., p. 330, note *.

‡ वरदा भव ।

|| Corrected from "ever",—a typographical error. The original is यथेच्छा ते ।

¶ *Paruṣha-vyāghra*, 'tiger of a man,' and in the vocative. See Vol. IV., p. 320, note ¶, also, *supra*, p. 22, note *.

** *Śakrañi*, in the original.

faultless shape.”* With the assent of Aditi, Indra† then respectfully saluted Janárdana in all due form, and conducted him and Satyabhámá through Nandana and other pleasant gardens of the gods; where Keśava, the destroyer of Keśin,‡ saw the Párijáta-tree,§ the favourite of Śachí, which was produced when the ocean was churned for ambrosia: the bark was of gold; and it was embellished with young sprouting leaves of a copper colour, and fruit-stalks bearing numerous clusters of fragrant fruit. || When Satyabhámá noticed this tree, she said to her beloved lord, Govinda: “Why should not this divine tree¶ be transported to Dwáraká? If what you say is true, and I am really dear to you, then let this tree be taken away from hence, and planted in the garden** of my dwelling. You have often said to me: ‘Neither Jámnavatí nor Rukmiñí is so dear to me, Satyá, as you are.’ If you have spoken the truth, and not mere flattery,†† then let this Párijáta-tree be the ornament of my mansion. I long to shine amidst my fellow-queens, wearing the flowers of this tree in the braids of my hair.”::

* मत्प्रसादात् ते सुधु जरा विह्वलमेव च ।
भविष्यत्पुत्रवयाङ्गि सर्वकामा भविष्यसि ॥

† The Sanskrit has *deva-rāja*.

‡ *Keśinudana*. I have corrected “Keśi”. See Vol. IV., p. 340.

§ See Vol. I., p. 144, and p. 146, note 1.

|| This description of the Párijáta-tree is rendered very freely. The original gives it one epithet not here translated,—*sugandhādhya*, ‘rich in fragrance’. The text followed is that of Śrīdhara, from which various MSS. offer many unimportant deviations.

¶ Professor Wilson read *देवपादपः*; but, no doubt, we should read *देव पादपः*. A variant is found: *कृष्ण पादपः* ।

** *Nishkuta*.

†† *Upachāra*.

:: *Keśa-pakṣha*.

Thus solicited by Satyabhāmā, Hari smiled upon her and, taking the Pārijāta-plant, put it upon Garuḍa.* The keepers of the garden (remonstrated and) said: "This Pārijāta-tree belongs to Śachī, the queen of the sovereign of the gods. It is not proper, Govinda, for you to remove it. At the time when the ocean was churned for the beverage of immortality,† this tree was produced, for the purpose of providing Śachī with flowery ornaments. You cannot be suffered to depart with it.: It is through ignorance that this is sought for by any one: as it is the especial property of her on whose countenance the king of the gods delights to look. And who shall go away with impunity, who attempts to carry it off?§ Assuredly, the king of the gods will punish this audacity; for his hand launches the thunderbolt, and the immortals attend upon his steps. Forbear, then, Kṛishnā; nor provoke the hostility of all the gods.¶ The wise will not commence actions that can be productive only of unpleasant consequences."** Satyabhāmā, on hearing these words, was exceedingly offended, and said: "What right has

* Called, in the original, Garuṁmat.

† समृतमन्वने ।

: न चेमी गृहीत्विनं गमिष्यसि ।

§ देवराजो मुखप्रेक्षो यस्यासखाः परियहन् ।

मौढ्यात्पार्श्वयसे चेमी गृहीत्विनं हि को व्रजेत् ॥

Some MSS read देव, instead of चेमी ।

॥ वज्रोक्षतकरं शक्रमनुयास्यन्ति चामराः ।

¶ तद्वत् सकलैर्देवैर्विचरिष्य तवाश्रुत ।

** विपाककटु यत्कर्म तप्त शंसन्ति पण्डिताः ।

"The wise do not commend an act disagreeable in its consequences."

Śachī, what has Indra,* to the Párijáta-tree? It was produced at the churning of the ocean, as the common property of all worlds. Wherefore, gods, should Indra† alone possess it? In the same manner, guardians of the grove, as nectar, as the moon, as (the goddess) Śrí (herself), so the Párijáta-tree is the common property of all the world; and, since Śachī, confiding in the strength of her husband's arm, would keep it to herself, away with submission to her!‡ Satyá takes away the tree. Go quickly: and let Paulomí§ be told what I have said. Repeat to her this contemptuous message from Satyabhámá: 'If you are the beloved wife of your lord, if your husband is obedient to your authority, let him prevent my husband from carrying off this tree. I know your husband, Śakra: I know the sovereign of the divinities; and I, who am a mortal, take this Párijáta-tree away from you.'"

Accordingly, the warders (of the garden) went and reported to Śachī the message (of Satyabhámá). Śachī appealed to her husband, and excited the king of the gods to resent this affront;¶ and Indra, accordingly, attended by the army of the celestials, marched to attack Hari, in defence of the Párijáta-tree. The gods were armed with clubs,** swords,†† maces, and darts;

* Śakra, in the Sanskrit.

† The original has Vāsava.

‡ तत्कथ्यतामसं चाख्या ।

§ Patronymic of Puloman, father of Śachī. See Vol. II., p. 72, note 2. or a less famous Paulomí, see Vol. I., p. 152, note 1, *ad finem*.

|| *Manushi*, 'a woman.' Śachī, no less than Satyabhámá, was "a mortal".

¶ शची चीत्साहयामास त्रिदशधिपतिं पतिम् ।

** *Parigha*.

†† *Nistrijñā*.

and Indra* wielded the thunderbolt. As soon as Govinda saw the king of the gods† advancing against him, on his*elephant, attended by the immortals,‡ he blew his shell, so that the sound filled all the regions, and he showered, smilingly, myriads of arrows upon his assailants.§ Beholding the air, in all directions, overspread with his darts, the celestials (in return,) hurled innumerable missiles; but every one of these the destroyer of Madhu, and lord of all worlds, cut, playfully, into a thousand pieces (with his shafts). The devourer of serpents (Garūḍa,) laid hold of the noose of the sovereign of the waters,¶ and tore it to fragments with his beak, as if it had been a little snake. The son of Devaki threw his mace at the club of Yama, and cast it, broken, upon the ground. He cut in bits** the litter†† of the lord of wealth,‡‡ with his discus; a glance of his eye eclipsed the radiance of the sun;§§ he severed Agni into a hundred parts, with his arrows, and scattered the Vasus through the realms of space. With his discus he cut off the points of the tridents of the Rudras, and cast themselves upon the earth; and,

* Śakra, in the original.

† For "the king of the gods" the Sanskrit has Śakra.

‡ Literally, 'the gods,'—*deva*.

§ मुनीष च शरव्रातं सहस्रायुतसंमितम् ।

Professor Wilson's favourite MS. indefensibly ends this verse with सहस्रायुतसंमितं; whence "smilingly". Read: "And he discharged a volley of arrows, amounting to myriads of thousands."

¶ Madhusūdana.

¶ Namely, Varuṇa.

** *Tilaśas*. This word denotes that the pieces were no larger than sesamum-seeds.

†† *Śihikī*.

‡‡ Kubera, to wit.

§§ चकार श्रीरिर्षं च दृष्टिदृष्टं इतो जसम् ।

Śūla, 'pikes.'

with the shafts shot from his bow, he dispersed the Sádhyas, Viśwas,* Maruts, and Gandharvas, like fleeces of cotton from the pods of the Simel† tree, through the sky. Garūḍa,‡ also, diligently plied his beak, and wings, and nails, and bit, and bruised, and scratched the deities who opposed his lord.§

Then the king of the gods and the foe of Madhu (encountered, and) overwhelmed each other with countless shafts, like rain-drops falling from two heavy clouds. Garūḍa, in the conflict, engaged with Airávatā; and Janárdana was opposed to all the deities. When all the other weapons had been cut to pieces, Indra¶ stood armed with his thunderbolt, and Kṛishná, with the discus Sudarśana.** Beholding them thus prepared for fight, all the people of the three spheres exclaimed

* *Viśve*. These deities are not mentioned severally, but always collectively. See Vol. III., p. 189, note beginning near the foot.

† *शाल्मलि* *śālmali*. The original has, thus, *Śālmali*. See Vol. IV., p. 240, note ||.

‡ The Sanskrit has *Garutmat*.

§ *नखानपि वनेषु पचाभ्यां नखराङ्कुरैः ।*

भक्षयंसाहयन्देवान्द्वारयंस चचार वै ॥

Herein is exemplified the figure of speech which is called, in Sanskrit, *athā-sankhyā*. A similar, but more complete, instance of construction by the correspondent order of terms is afforded in the following couplet:

"Vir simplex, fortasse bonus, sed pastor ineptus,
Vult, tentat, peragit, plurima, pauca, nihil."

Stanzas of like verbal collocation might be adduced, in any quantity, from medieval compositions. In the Third Book of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* is a sonnet contrived, throughout, like its beginning:

"Vertue, beantie, and speech, did strike, wound, charme,
My heart, eyes, eares, with wonder, love, delight."

|| *Madhusūdāna*.

¶ *Vāsava*, in the original.

** *हिमेष्वशेषबाधेषु शस्त्रेष्वशेषेषु च खरण ।*

अयाङ् वासवो वरं कृष्णशङ्खं सुदर्शनम् ।

"Alas! alas!" Indra* launched his bolt; but in vain: for Hari caught and arrested it. He forbore, however, to hurl his discus, and only called out to Indra to stay.† Satyabhámá, seeing Indra disarmed, and his elephant disabled by Garuḍa, and the deity, himself, about to retreat, said to him: "King of the triple sphere, it ill becomes the husband of Śachí to run away. Orna-mented with Párijáta-garlands, she will approach you. Of what use is the sovereignty of heaven, embellished with the Párijáta-tree, no longer beholding Śachí meet you with affection, as of yore? Nay, Śakra: fly not! You must not suffer shame. Here, take the Párijáta-tree. Let the gods be no longer annoyed. Śachí, inflated with pride of her husband, has not welcomed me to her dwelling with respectful presents. As a woman, I am light of purpose, and am anxious for my husband's fame. Therefore have I instigated, Śakra, this contest with you. But I do not want the Párijáta-tree; nor do I wish to take that which is another's property. Śachí is proud of her beauty. What woman is not proud of her husband?" Thus spoken to (by Satyabhámá), the king of the gods turned back, and said to her: "Desist, wrathful dame, from afflicting your friend by further reproaches.‡ I am not ashamed of being vanquished by him who is the author of the creation, preservation,

* Mahendra, in the Sanskrit.

† Hereabouts the translation is free.

‡ The insertion, here, of the words "to you", justified by the original, would make this sentence intelligible. The Sanskrit is as follows:

वीदुशं देवराज्यं ते पारिजातस्रगुक्त्वलम् ।

अपन्नतो यथापूर्वं प्रणयादामतां शचीम् ॥

§ ग्राह्यं वैनामसं चक्षि सख्यः खेदातिविहरीः ।

and destruction of the world; who is the substance of all things;* in whom, without beginning or middle, the universe is comprised; and from whom, and by whom, identical with all things, it proceeds, and will cease to be.† What disgrace is it, O goddess, (to any one,) to be discomfited by him who is the cause of creation, continuance, and dissolution? His form is the parent of all worlds, though infinitely subtile, and known to those only by whom all that may be known is known. Who is able to overcome the unborn, unconstituted, eternal lord, who has willed to become a mortal, for the good of the world?"¹

¹ The Bhāgavata‡ merely says: "Incited by his wife, Kṛishṇa took away the Pārijāta-tree, having subdued the gods, and planted it in the garden of Satyabhāmā." The Hari Vamśa makes a long story of it, and tells it with some variations, especially in the commencement; Satyabhāmā's desire for the Pārijāta-tree having been excited by Nārada's presenting a flower from it to Kṛishṇa's other spouse, Rukmiṇī.

• *Vikṭa-rūpin.*

† वस्त्रिजगत्सकलमेतदनादिमध्ये

यस्माद्यतश्च न भविष्यति सर्वभूतात् ।

‡ X., Latter Section, IX., 39, 40:

नोदितो भार्ययोत्पाद्य पारिजातं गुरुत्वति ।

आरोप्य सेन्द्रान्विबुधान्निर्विष्योपानयत्युरम् ॥

स्त्रापितः सत्यभामाया गृहीयानोपशोभनः ।

अन्वगुर्धमराः खर्षात्तद्वन्धासवलं पट्टाः ॥

CHAPTER XXXI.

Krishna, with Indra's consent, takes the Párijáta-tree to Dwáraká;
marries the princesses rescued from Naraka.

KEŚAVA, being thus eulogized by the king of the gods, smiled, and spake gravely to him (in reply). "Thou art Indra," said he, "the king of the celestials. We are (but) mortals, O lord of the world. Thou must pardon, therefore, the offence that I have committed. Let this Párijáta-tree be taken to its appropriate situation. I removed it in compliance with the words of Satyá. Receive back, also, this your thunderbolt, cast at me: for this is your proper weapon, *—the destroyer of your foes." Indra† answered, and said: "Thou beguilest us, O lord, in calling thyself a mortal. But we know thee to be the lord, although not endowed: with subtlety of discernment. Thou art that thou art, engaged in the (active) preservation§ of the earth; thou extractest the thorns implanted in her bosom, destroyer of the demon-race.¶ Let this Párijáta-tree be transferred to Dwáraká; ¶ and it shall remain upon earth as long as thou abidest in the world of mortals."** Hari, having assented to the proposal of Indra, †† returned to

* *Praharaña.*

† Śakra, in the original.

‡ That is to say, "although we are not endowed."

§ *Tráña.*

¶ अगतः शस्त्रनिष्कर्षं करोत्यसुरसूदन ।

¶ The Sanskrit has Dwáravati.

** मर्त्यलोके त्वया मुक्ते नायं संस्त्रास्यते भुवि ।

†† *Devendra*, in the Sanskrit.

earth, hymned by attendant sages,* saints,† and quirksters of heaven.

When Kṛishṇa arrived over Dwáraká, he blew his shell, and delighted all the inhabitants with the sound. Then, alighting from Garuḍa, he proceeded, with Satya-bhámá, to her garden,‡ and there planted the great Párijáta-tree, the smell of which perfumed the earth for three furlongs,§ and an approach to which enabled every one to recollect (the events of) a prior existence; so that, on beholding their faces in that tree, all the Yádavas contemplated themselves in their (original) celestial forms.¶ Then Kṛishṇa took possession of the wealth, elephants, horses, and women, which he had recovered from Naraka, and which had been brought (to Dwáraká) by the servants (of the demon); and, at an auspicious season, he¶ espoused all the maidens whom Naraka had carried off (from their friends): at one and the same moment,** he†† received the hands of all of them, according to the ritual, in separate mansions.‡‡ Sixteen thousand and one hundred was the number of the maidens.§§ And into so many dif-

* *Siddha.*

† *Rishi.*

‡ *Nishkula.*

§ *Yojana.*

॥ ततस्ते यादवाः सर्वे देहबन्धानमागुषान् ।
ददृशुः पादपे तस्मिन्कुर्वन्तो मुखदर्शनम् ॥

¶ The Sanskrit here has Janārdana.

** *Kāla.*

†† Govinda, in the original.

‡‡ Instead of पृथग्देहेषु, there is a variant, पृथग्देहेषु, importing "in multiplied persons."

§§ Our Purāṇa is at variance with itself as to the number of Kṛishṇa's wives. See Vol. IV., p. 112, with which compare pp. 81, 82, *supra*.

ferent forms did the foe of Madhu* multiply himself; so that every one of the damsels thought that he had wedded her, in his single person.† And the creator of the world, Hari, the assumer of universal shape, abode severally in the dwelling of each of these his wives.‡

* Madhusūdana.

† एकैकस्मिन् ताः कन्या भेजिरे मधुसूदनम् ।
ममेव पाणियहणं भगवान्कृतवानिति ॥

Śrīdhara, at least according to my single MS. of his commentary, begins this stanza with एकैकरूपेण, at the expense of metrical correctness.

‡ निशासु च जगत्स्रष्टा तासां गृहेषु केशवः ।
उवास विप्र सर्वासां विश्वरूपधरो हरिः ॥

CHAPTER XXXII.

Children of Kṛishṇa. Ūshā, the daughter of Bāṇa, sees Aniruddha in a dream, and becomes enamoured of him.

PARÁŚARA.—I have enumerated to you Pradyumna and the other sons of Rukmiṇī. Satyabhámā bore Bhānu* and Bhaimarika.† The sons of Rohiṇī were Dīptimat, Tāmrapaksha,‡ and others. The powerful Sám̐ba§ and other sons were born of Jám̐bavatī. Bhadravinda|| and other valiant youths were the sons of Nág̐najitī. Śaibyá (or Mitravindá¶) had several sons, of whom Sangrámajit was the chief. Vṛika and others were begotten (by Hari) on Mádrī.** Lakshmaṇá had Gátravat and others; and Śruta and others were the sons†† of Kálindī¹, :: Kṛishṇa §§ had sons, also, by his

¹ The Bhāgavata says, each of his eight queens had ten sons,

* Two MSS. have Bhāru.

† Corrected from "Bhairika." In giving this mangled form of the name, Professor Wilson was misled by an error in his favourite MS. The scansion of the line shows that a syllable is missing. Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth have helped to perpetuate "Bhairika".

‡ Corrected from "Tāmrapakshi", in which reading Professor Wilson was again led astray by an error in the MS. referred to in the last note. Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth wrongly credit our Translator with "Tāmrapakshin". One of my MS. yields Tāmravarṇa, another, "Diptimat and others". Also *vide supra*, p. 79, note **.

§ Corrected from "Sám̐ba". || My Ajmere MS. has Bhadrāmānda.

¶ Supplied by the Translator, on the authority of the commentator Śrīdhara. Ratnagarbha considers Śaibyá as one of Kṛishṇa's eight wives of the first order; but he does not identify her, by name, with any one of those specified in note § to p. 78, *supra*.

** *Vide supra*, p. 81, note *.

†† There were three of them,—unnamed,—according to the reading of my Arrah MS.

:: *Vide supra*, p. 78, note §, and p. 81, note 1.

§§ Chakrin, in the original.

other wives,—in all, one hundred and eighty thousand. The eldest of the whole was Pradyumna, the son of Rukimīnī: his son was Aniruddha, from whom Vajra* was born: his mother was Ūshā,†—the daughter of Báña, and granddaughter of Bali,‡—whom Aniruddha won in war.§ On that occasion, a fierce battle took place between Hari and Śankara, in which the thousand arms of Báña were lopped away by the discus of the former.

MAITREYA.—How happened it, (venerable) Brahman, that a contest on account of Ūshā arose between Śiva¶ and Kṛishná? And in what manner did Hari cut off the thousand arms of Báña?** This, illustrious sir, thou art áble to narrate.††

PARĀSARA.—Ūshā, the daughter of Báña, having seen Párvatī sporting with (her lord,) Śaṁbhu, was inspired with a wish for similar dalliance. The beautiful Gaurí,‡ who knows the hearts of all, said to Ūshā:

and gives the ten names of each set, with one or two exceptions. §§

* Corrected from "Vraja". See Vol. IV., pp. 112, 113.

† Corrected, here, and everywhere below, from "Ushā", which, likewise, occurs, but not in our Purāna. ‡ See Vol. II., p. 69.

§ The original is चक्रिणो रणे बहः ।

¶ The Sanskrit has Chakrin.

¶ Hara, in the Sanskrit.

** कथं कथं च वायस्य बाह्यां कृतवान्हरिः ।

†† The original adds:

महत्कीतूहलं जातं कथां श्रोतुमिमां हरेः ।

So reads Śrīdhara. Ratnagarbha has:

महत्कीतूहलं जातं कथयाच कथामिमाम् ।

‡ The same as Párvatī. See Vol. I., p. 104, note 1.

§§ Vide supra, p. 79, notes •, †, §, ¶, and **; p. 81, notes • and †; and p. 82, note ¶.

“Do not grieve. You shall have a husband.”* “But when will this be?” thought Úshá to herself. “Or who will be my lord?” On which, Párvatí continued: “He who shall appear to you, princess, in a dream, on the twelfth lunation† of the light half of Vaiśákha, he will be your husband.”‡ Accordingly, as the goddess had foretold, on that lunar day a youth appeared (to Úshá,) in a dream, of whose person she became enamoured. When she woke, and no longer perceived him, she was overcome with sorrow, and, unrestrained by modesty, demanded of her companion whither he had gone. The companion and friend of the princess was Chitrālekhá, the daughter of Kumbhánda,§ the minister of Báha. “Of whom do you speak?” inquired she (of Úshá). But the princess, recollecting herself, was ashamed, and remained silent. At length, however, Chitrālekhá conciliated her confidence; and she related to her what had passed, and what the goddess had foretold; and she requested her friend to devise some means of uniting her with the person whom she had beheld in her dream.¶

Chitrālekhá then delineated the most eminent gods,** demons,†† spirits,‡‡ and mortals, and showed them (to

* अक्षमत्वर्थतापेन भर्ता स्वमपि रंक्षसे ।

† By this word Professor Wilson intends, at variance with scientific precedent, and otherwise entirely without justification, ‘lunar day’.

‡ In this sentence, and in the next, the Translator, with commendable taste, has not reproduced the grossness of the original.

§ Corrected from “Kubhánda”.

॥ यदा लज्जाकुला नास्ति कथयामास सा सखी ।

¶ देखा तबिच तत्प्राप्ती योऽभ्युपायः कुरुष्व तम् ।

†† Daitya.

‡‡ Gandharva.

Úshá). Putting aside the portraits of gods, spirits, snake-gods,* and demons,† the princess selected those of mortals, and, amongst them, the heroes of the races of Andhaka and Vṛishñi.‡ When she came to (the likenesses of) Kṛishná and Ráma, she was confused with shame.§ From (the portrait of) Pradyumna she modestly averted her eyes; but, the moment she beheld the picture of his son, the object of her passion, her eyes wide expanded, and all her bashfulness was discarded. "This is he! This is he!" said she (to Ūhitrakṣhá). And her friend, who was endowed with magic power,¶ bade her be of good cheer, and set off, through the air, to Dwáráká.**

* *Uraga.*

† *Asura.*

‡ मनुष्येषु ददौ दृष्टिं तेष्वप्यन्धकवृष्णिषु ।

For Andhaka and Vṛishñi, see Vol. IV., pp. 71, *et seq.*

§ *Lajjá-jada.*

| दृष्ट्वात्थर्षदिकाशिन्या लज्जा क्वापि निराकृता ।

¶ *Yoga-gāmin.*

** Dwáravatī, in the original.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Báña solicits Śiva for war: finds Aniruddha in the palace, and makes him prisoner. Kṛishná, Balaráma, and Pradyumna come to his rescue. Śiva and Skanda aid Báña: the former is disabled; the latter, put to flight. Báña encounters Kṛishná, who cuts off all his arms, and is about to put him to death. Śiva intercedes; and Kṛishná spares his life. Vishnú and Śiva are the same.

BEFORE this took place, Báña had been engaged in the adoration of the three-eyed* (god), and had thus prayed to him: "I am humiliated,† O lord, by (the possession of) a thousand arms in a state of peace. Let some hostilities ensue, in which I may derive some advantage from their possession. Without war, what is the use of these arms? They are but a burthen to me."‡ Śankara replied: "When 'thy peacock-banner shall be broken, thou shalt have war,—the delight of the evil spirits that feast on the flesh of man."§ Báña, pleased (by this promise), proffered his thanks|| to Śambhu, and returned to his palace, where he found his standard broken; at which his joy was increased.

At that time, the nymph Chitralkhá returned (from Dwáaraká), and, by the exercise of her magic power, brought Aniruddha (along with her). The guards of

* Trilochana. See Vol. I., p. 141.

† *Nirvinna*.

‡ कश्चिन्नमैषां बाहूनां साफल्यजनको रणः ।

भविव्यति विना युद्धं भाराय मम किं भुजे ॥

§ पिशिताग्निघनाब्धं प्राप्स्यसि त्वं नदा रणम् ।

|| The Sanskrit has simply प्रणम्य ।

the inner apartments, discovering him there with Ūśhā,* reported it to the king, who immediately sent a body of his followers (to seize the prince). But the valiant youth, taking up an iron club, slew his assailants;† on which, Báña mounted his car, advanced against him, and endeavoured to put him to death. Finding, however, that Aniruddha was not to be subdued by prowess, he followed the counsel of his minister, and brought his magical faculties into the conflict, by which he succeeded in capturing the Yadu prince, and binding him in serpent-bonds.‡

When Aniruddha was missed from Dwúravatí, and the Yádavas were inquiring of one another whither he had gone, Nárada came to them, and told them that he was the prisoner of Báña; having been conveyed, by a female possessed of magic faculties, to Śonítapura.¹§ When they heard this, they were satisfied;

¹ The synonyms of Śonítapura, in the Trikańda Śesha, are Devikotā, Báñapura, Kotivarsha, and Ushavana.¶ The first is, usually, considered to be the modern Devicotta, in the Carnatic, which is commonly believed to be the scene of Báña's defeat. The name, however, occurs in other parts of India: in the Deccan, on the banks of the Godávare,—according to Wilford, the capital of Munja (Asiatic Researches, Vol. IX., p. 199); and in Assam,

तं रममाणं सहोषया ।

‡ जवान परिषं लीहमादाय परवीरहा ।

: ततस्तं पद्मगच्छेय बभन्व यदुनङ्गनम् ।

§ The translation, hereabouts, is rather free.

¶ II., I., 17.

¶ The better reading, it seems, is Ūmāvana, as in the *Haima-kosa*, IV., 43, where, also, we find all the synonyms of Śonítapura which are specified above.

for they had imagined he had been taken away by the gods. (in reprisal for the Párijáta-tree). * Kṛishná,† therefore, immediately summoned Garuḍa‡ who came with a wish:‡ and, mounting upon him, along with Bala and Pradyumna, he set off for the city of Báña. On their approach to the city, they were opposed by the spirits who attend on Rudra:§ but these were soon destroyed by Hari: and he and his companions reached the vicinity of the town. Here, mighty Fever - an emanation from Maheśwara,¶ having three feet and three heads¹, - fought desperately with Viṣṇu, ** in defence of Báña. Baladeva, upon whom his ashes were

near Gwálpára, as the city of the Daityas. Asiatic Researches, Vol. XIV., p. 443. Hamilton†† notices the remains of a city, so called, in Dinajpore. In the Káliká Puráña, Báña is described as the friend and, apparently, neighbour of Naraka, king of Prágyotisha‡‡ or Assam

¹ Alluding to the three stages of febrile paroxysms, or to the recurrence of tertian ague. A contest with this enemy, in the course of military operations, is an allegory which the British armies in India too often illustrate.

तं शोणितपुरे श्रुत्वा नीतं विद्याविदग्धया ।
योषिता प्रत्ययं जग्मुर्यादवा नामरैरिति ॥

† The Sanskrit has Hari.

‡ I. e., "at his wish".

§ The Translator takes from Śrīdhara this explanation of *pramatha*.

पुरीप्रवेशे प्रमथैर्युद्धमासीन्महात्मनः ।

ययौ बाणपुराभ्यां नीत्वा तान्संचयं हरिः ॥

¶ *Māheśwara* is the word translated by "an emanation from Maheśwara

** *Śārṅga-dhanwan*, "armed with the bow Śārṅga," is the term by which Kṛishná is here called, in the original.

†† *History, &c. of Eastern India*, Vol. II., p. 660.

‡‡ *Vide supra*, p. 54, note 1, p. 55, note †; and p. 58, note 1.

scattered, was seized with burning heat, and his eyelids trembled: but he obtained relief by clinging to the body of Kṛishṇa.* Contending, thus, with the divine holder of the bow,† the Fever (emanating from Śiva) was quickly expelled from the person of Kṛishṇa by Fever; which he himself engendered.‡ Brahmā, beholding the impersonated malady bewildered by the beating inflicted by the arms of the deity, entreated the latter to desist: and the foe of Madhu refrained, and absorbed into himself the Fever he had created. The rival Fever then departed, saying to Kṛishṇa: "Those men who call to memory the combat between us shall be (ever) exempt from febrile disease."**

Next, Viṣṇu overcame and demolished the five fires,†† and, with perfect ease,‡: annihilated the army

* The Āhavanīya, Gārhapatya, Dakṣhiṇa, Sabhya, and Āvasathya are the five fires; of which the three first have a religious, and the other two, a secular, character. The first is a fire pre-

* तद्भस्मस्पर्शसंभूततापः कृष्णाङ्गसंगमात् ।

अवाप बलदेवोऽपि शममामीलितेक्षणः ॥

† To render Śārngin, as Kṛishṇa is denominated from his bow spoken of in note ** in the preceding page.

‡ *Vaishṇava* is the epithet given it in the Sanskrit.

§ Kṛishṇa here figures as a practitioner of homoeopathy. Pitāmaha, in the original.

¶ नारायणभुजाघातपरिपीडनविह्वलम् ।

तं वीक्ष्य क्षम्यतामस्येत्याह देवः पितामहः ॥

ततश्च चान्तमेवेति प्रोक्त्वा तं वैष्णवं ज्वरम् ।

आत्मन्येव लयं निन्ये भगवान्मधुसूदनः ॥

** *Vijvara*.

†† "The protectors of that city",—namely, Bāṇa's, says Ratnagarbha.

‡: लीलया ।

of the Dánavas. Then the son of Bali (Báña), with the whole of the Daitya* host, assisted by Śankara and Kárttikeya,† fought with Śauri. A fierce combat took place between Hari and Śankara. All the regions shook, scorched by their flaming weapons; and the celestials felt assured that the end of the universe was at hand. Govinda, with the weapon of yawning, set Śankara agape; and then the demons; and the demigods attendant upon Śiva§ were destroyed on every side: for Hara, overcome with incessant gaping, sat down in his car, and was unable longer to contend with Kṛishṇa, whom no acts affect. The deity of war, Kárttikeya,¶ wounded in the arm by Garúda,** struck by the weapons of Pradyumna, and disarmed by the shout of

pared for oblations at an occasional sacrifice; the second is the household fire, to be perpetually maintained; the third is a sacrificial fire, in the centre of the other two, and placed to the south; the Sabhya is a fire lighted to warm a party; and the Ávasathya,†† the common domestic or culinary fire. Manu, III., 100, 185,‡‡ and Kullúka Bhaṭṭa's explanation, §§

* Daiteya, in the Sanskrit.

† See Vol. I., Preface, p. LXXXIX.; and Vol. II., p. 23.

‡ Daiteya.

§ In definition of *pramatha*.

Aklishṭa-karman, "unweariable."

¶ For "the deity of war, Kárttikeya," the Sanskrit has, simply, Guha.

** Professor Wilson has followed the reading of Śrīdhara, as it appears in the only copy of his commentary to which we, in common, have had access,—**गर्भतवाङ्**. Ratnagarbha adopts the ordinary lection, **गर्भतवाङ्** :

†† Corrected from "Ávasatthya."

‡‡ Neither thence nor from Kullúka's comments is much to be gleaned touching the five fires.

§§ Also see Vol. III., p. 175, note §; and Vol. IV., p. 11, note 1.

Hari.* took to flight. Báṇa, when he saw Śankara disabled, the Daityas destroyed, Guha† fled, and Śiva's followers‡ slain,§ advanced, on his vast car,—the horses of which were harnessed by Nandīśa,—¶ to encounter Kṛishṇa and his associates Bala and Pradyumna.** The valiant Balabhadra, attacking the host of Báṇa, wounded them, in many ways, with his arrows, and put them to a shameful rout;†† and their sovereign beheld them dragged about by Rāma,‡ with his ploughshare, or beaten, by him, with his club, or pierced, by Kṛishṇa,§§ with his arrows. He, therefore, attacked Kṛishṇa; and a fight took place between them. They cast at each other fiery shafts, that pierced through their armour; but Kṛishṇa intercepted, with his arrows, those of Báṇa, and cut them to pieces. Báṇa, nevertheless, wounded Keśava; and the wielder of the discus wounded Báṇa; and both, desirous of victory, and seeking, enraged, the death of his antagonist, hurled (various) missiles at each other. When

* The original has Kṛishṇa.

† I. e., Kārttikeya.

‡ To render *pramatha-sainya*.

§ शार्ङ्गधन्वना, "by the bearer of the bow Śārngā", the original particularizes.

Read 'driven',—*saṅgīhita*.

¶ Also called Nandi and Nandin. Generally he is represented as a follower of Śiva. See Vol. I., Preface, p. LXXXIX., and p. 122

** The Sanskrit here calls him by his patronym, Kārshṇi.

†† बलभद्रो महावीर्यो बाणसैन्यमनेकधा ।

विव्याध बाणैः प्रभञ्ज्य धर्मतस्तत्पलायत ॥

Ratnagarbha ends the second verse with धर्मतस्तत्पलायतः and some MSS. give, with this reading, संहृष्टः, instead of प्रभञ्ज्य ।

‡ Bala, in the original.

§§ The Sanskrit has Chakrin.

an infinite number of arrows* had been cut to pieces, and the weapons began to be exhausted,† Krīṣṇa resolved to put Bāṇa to death. The destroyer§ of the demon-host, therefore, took up his discus, Sudarśana, blazing with the radiance of a hundred suns. As he was in the act of casting it, the mystical goddess Koṭāvi,¶ the magic lore of the demons, stood, naked, before him.*** Seeing her before him, Krīṣṇa,†† with unclosed eyes, cast Sudarśana, to cut off the arms:: of Bāṇa. The discus, dreaded, in its flight, by the whole of the weapons of the demons, lopped off, successively,

* Koṭāvi (कोटवी) is said to be an eighth portion of Rudrānī, and the tutelary goddess of the Daityas, composed of incantations (मन्त्रमयी). §§ The Hari Vaiṣṇava calls her, also, Lambā, and intimates her being the mother of Bāṇa, and as identical with Durgā. The word, in the lexicons, designates a naked woman, and is, thence, applicable to Durgā, in some of her forms.

* The Sanskrit yields "all the arrows".

† अस्त्रे च सीदति प्राचुर्येण । Ratnagarbha explains this as follows: प्राचुर्येणास्त्रे सीदति क्षीणे सति ।

‡ Hari, in the original.

§ Read "enemy",—*ari*.

Here called, in the original, by his epithetical appellation, Madhudwīsh, or Madhuvīdhwīsh, according to various copies.

¶ Variant: Kodavi. And Ratnagarbha, in my best MSS, has Koṭavi.

** नपा दैतेयविद्याभूत्कोटवी पुरतो हरेः ।

Ratnagarbha says: कोटवी दैत्यविद्या मन्त्रमयी दैत्यकुलदेवता । Also see note §§, below.

†† The Sanskrit has Hari.

‡‡ बाङ्गवनं, according to Śrīdhara. बाङ्गबलं is Ratnagarbha's reading.

§§ This is from Śrīdhara, who says: कोटवी नाम दैतेयानां विद्या-मन्त्रमयी कुलदेवता ब्रह्मास्त्रा अष्टमांशः ।*

|| Sl. 10722.

the numerous arms of the Āsura. Beholding Kṛishṇa with the discus again in his hand, and preparing to launch it once more, for the total demolition of Bāṇa the foe of Tripura* (Śiva,) respectfully addressed him. The husband of Umā,† seeing the blood streaming from

* In the Eighth Chapter of the *Revā-mahātmya*, it is said, that Tripurī kshetra, where Śiva flung down Tripura, the Āsura, lies to the north of the Narmadā. The Twenty-ninth Chapter of the same work somewhat discordantly relates as follows. The demon Bāṇa, in reward of his austerities as a votary of Śiva, received from him the gift of a city. Brahmā and Viṣṇu adding, each, another, he obtained the epithet of Tripura, or *Trivikṛa*. When slain by Śiva, as he was traversing the heavens, a part of his carcass fell near the well-known mountain Śrīśaila, in Siddhā kshetra; another fragment, not far from Amarakaṇṭaka; and the remainder in the vicinity of Gaṅgāsagara. The weapon, Aghorāstra, with which he was demolished, reached the earth at a point of the Narmadā here by Jalāśwarathra, and sank to Rasātala, the nethermost of the infernal stages.

Where this tale is briefly rehearsed in the *Gaiṇesa Upapurāṇa*,—Prior Section, Chapter LXXI.—Bāṇa carries off Pradyumna, whose father Kṛishṇa, attacks the giant, and, after propitiating Gaiṇesa, overcomes the monster, and takes possession of his city, Sointapura. Some ten chapters of the first half of the *Gaiṇesa Upapurāṇa*, beginning with the thirty-eight are taken up with Tripura or Bāṇa.

Tripurī, the capital of the Chedis,—a place connected with the preceding legends,—I discovered, while exploring the banks of the Narmadā, in the insignificant village of Tewar. See the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. VI., p. 516.

† The Translator has strangely misunderstood the import of the following stanzas:

क्रमेण तत्तु बाहूनां बाणस्याच्युतनोदितम् ।

केदं चक्रेऽसुरापास्तशस्त्रीघ्नपणावृतम् ॥

क्षित्ते बाहुसहस्रे तु कारयं मधुसूदनः ।

मुमुर्षुर्बाणनाशाय विघ्नातस्त्रिपुरद्विषा ॥

Ratnagarbha reads -चोदितं, for -नोदितं; -क्षेपणं, for -क्षपणं. and बाहुबले तस्य, for बाहुसहस्रे तु. One other variant which I find is बाहुवने तस्य; and my Ajmore MS. interpolates, after the first verse of the extract:

चिक्षेद चक्रं बाहूनां सहस्रमतिवेगवत् ।

‡ Umāpati.

the dissevered arms of Báña, approached Govinda, to solicit a suspension of hostilities,* and said to him "Kṛishná, Kṛishná, lord of the world, I know thee, first of spirits,† the supreme lord, infinite felicity, without beginning or end, and beyond all things.‡ This sport of universal being, in which thou takest the persons of god, animals, and men, is a subordinate attribute of thy energy.§ Be propitious, therefore, O lord, (unto me). I have given Báña assurance of safety. Do not thou falsify that which I have spoken. He has grown old in devotion to me. Let him not incur thy displeasure. The Daitya has received a boon from me; and, therefore, I deprecate thy wrath." When he had concluded, Govinda, dismissing his resentment against the Asura, looked graciously on the lord of Umá,¶ the wielder of the trident,** and said to him: "Since you, Sankara, have given a boon unto Báña, let him live. From respect to your promises, my discus is arrested.†† The assurance of safety granted by you is granted (also,) by me. You are fit to apprehend that you are not distinct from me.‡‡ *That* which I am thou art; and

* सामपूर्वम् ।

† *Purushottama*.

‡ "Beyond all things" is to render *para*.

§ देवतिर्यङ्मुख्येषु शरीरग्रहणात्मिका ।

लीलियं सर्वभूतस्य तव चेष्टोपलब्धया ॥

Saṁśraya.

¶ *Umāpati*.

** *Śūla-pāṇi*.

†† स्वदाक्षगौरवादेतन्मया चक्रं निवर्तितम् ।

‡‡ मत्तोऽविभिन्नमात्मानं द्रष्टुमर्हसि शंकर ।

"You must perceive," &c.

that, also, is this world, with its gods, demons,* and mankind. Men contemplate distinctions, because they are stupefied by ignorance." So saying, Kṛishṇa went to the place where the son of Pradyumna† was confined. The snakes that bound him were destroyed, being blasted by the breath of Garūḍa; and Kṛishṇa, placing him; along with his wife, upon the celestial bird,§ returned, with Pradyumna and Rāma, to Dwārakā.¹

* There can be little doubt that this legend describes a serious struggle between the Śaivas and Vaishṇavas, in which the latter, according to their own report, were victorious; and the Śaivas, although they attempt to make out a sort of compromise between Rudra and Kṛishṇa, are obliged to admit his having the worst of the conflict, and his inability to protect his votary. The Bhāgavata tells the story much as the text. The Hari Vaṁśa amplifies, even more than usual; the narrative occupying nearly seventy pages of the French translation. The legend is to be found, to the same purport, but in various degrees of detail, in the Agni Purāṇa, Kūrma Purāṇa, Padma Purāṇa (Uttara Khanda), Vāmana Purāṇa, and Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa. (Kṛishṇa Janma Khanda).

* *Asura*.

† In the original, Prādyumni. Aniruddha is intended.

‡ The Sanskrit has Aniruddha.

§ To represent Garutmat.

आवग्मुर्द्वारकां रामकार्ष्णिदामोदराः पुरीम् ।

"Rāma, Kārṣhṇi, and Dāmodara went to the city of Dwārakā."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

Pauṇḍraka, a Vāsudeva, assumes the insignia and style of Kṛishṇa, supported by the king of Kāśi. Kṛishṇa marches against and destroys them. The son of the king sends a magical being against Kṛishṇa: destroyed by his discus, which also sets Benares on fire, and consumes it and its inhabitants.

MAITREYA.—Of a truth, the divine Śauri, having assumed a mortal body, performed great achievements in his easy victories over Śakra, and Śiva,* and all their attendant divinities.† I am now desirous to hear from you, illustrious (sage), what other mighty exploit the humiliator of the prowess of the celestials performed.

PARÁŚARA.—Hear, excellent Brahman, with reverent attention, an account of the burning of Várāṇasī§ by Kṛishṇa, in the course of his relieving the burthens of the earth.

There was a Vāsudeva who was called Pauṇḍraka,¹

¹ From being, the commentator¶ says, king of Puṇḍra.** The

* Śarva, in the original.

† चक्रे कर्म महच्छौरिर्बिभ्राणी मानुषीं तनुम् ।

जिगाय शक्रं शर्वं च सर्वदेवांश्च लीलया ॥

‡ *Viprarshi*: the same as *Brahmarshi*, for which term see Vol. III., p. 68, text and note 1.

§ Corrected, here and everywhere below, from “Várāṇasī” or “Vārāṇasī.”

¶ भारवतारे । Variant: नरावतारे ।

¶ The two commentators have identically the same explanation of the name in question: पीण्डदेशजः, “born in the country of the Pauṇḍras.” They do not call Pauṇḍraka a king.

** See Vol. II., p. 170, note 5.

and who, though not *the* Vāsudeva, was flattered, by ignorant people, as the descended deity, until he fancied himself to be the Vāsudeva¹ who had come down upon earth.* Losing all recollection (of his real character), he assumed the emblems of Vishnu, and sent an ambassador to the magnanimous Kṛishna, with this message: "Relinquish, thou foolish fellow, the discus. Lay aside all my insignia, my name, and the character of Vāsudeva, and come and do me homage; and I will vouchsafe thee means of subsistence."† At which, Janārdana laughed, and replied: "Go, messenger, back to Pauṇḍraka, and say to him, from me: 'I will despatch to thee my emblem the discus, without fail. Thou wilt rightly apprehend my meaning, and consider what is to be done; for I shall come to

Bhāgavata§ calls him chief of the Kārūshas; the Padma, king of Kāśi; but the Bhāgavata, as well as our text, makes the king of Kāśi¶ his friend and ally.

¹ According to the Padma Purāṇa, he propitiates Śiva, and obtains from him the insignia which constitute a Vāsudeva. The different authorities for this legend all use the term Vāsudeva in the sense of a title.

* पीण्डको वासुदेवसु वासुदेवोऽभवत्सुवि ।

अवतीर्णस्त्वमित्युक्तो जनैरज्ञानमोहितैः ॥

स मेने वासुदेवोऽहमवतीर्णो महीतले ।

† वासुदेवात्मकं मूढ मुक्ता सर्वं विशेषतः ।

आत्मनो जीवितार्थाय ततो मे प्रणतिं ब्रज ॥

गर्वं, for सर्वं, is the reading of some MSS.

‡ समुत्सृष्टे ।

§ X, Latter Section. Chapter XVI.

See Vol. III., p. 240, notes 1, etc.

¶ In all such cases, read "king of the Kāśis."

thy city, bringing the discus with me, and shall, undoubtedly, consign* it to thee. If thou wilt command me to come, I will immediately obey, and be with thee to-morrow. There shall be no delay.† And, having sought thy asylum, I will so provide, O king, that I shall never more have anything to dread from thee.” So saying, he dismissed the ambassador, (to report these words to his sovereign), and, summoning,‡ Garuḍa,§ mounted him, and set off for the city (of Pauṇḍraka¹).

¹ The Hari Vaiṣṇa and Padma Purāṇa send Pauṇḍraka to Dwārakā. According to the latter, Nārada incites Pauṇḍraka to the aggression, telling him he cannot be a Vāsudeva till he has overcome Kṛishṇa. He goes, and is killed. The former work, as usual, enters into particulars of its own invention. Kṛishṇa is absent on a visit to Śiva at Kailāsa; and, during his absence, Pauṇḍraka, assisted by Ekalavya, king of the Nishādas, makes a night-attack upon Dwārakā. They are resisted by the Yādavas, under Sātyaki and Balarāma; by the former of whom Pauṇḍraka is repeatedly overthrown, and all but slain. He requires so much killing, however, that he is likely to obtain the victory; when Kṛishṇa comes to the aid of his kinsmen, and, after a protracted encounter, described in language employed a hundred times before, kills his competitor. The whole of the sections called the Kailāsa Yātrā—or Kṛishṇa’s Journey to Kailāsa,—must have been wanting in the copy used by M. Langlois, as they are not included in his translation. The chapters of the Hari Vaiṣṇa,

समुत्स्रक्षामि ।

‡ आश्नापूर्वं च यदिदमागच्छेति त्वयोदितम् ।
संपादयिष्ये अस्तुभ्यं तद्वेषोऽविलम्बितम् ॥

† संकृतम्, “calling to mind.”

§ In the Sanskrit, Garutmat.

¹ See Vol. IV., p. 113, note 1.

When the king of Kāśī* heard of the preparations of Keśava, he sent his army (to the aid of Pauṇḍraka), himself bringing up the rear:† and, with the force of the king of Kāśī,‡ and his own troops, Pauṇḍraka, the (false) Vāsudeva, marched to meet Kṛishṇa.§ Hari beheld him afar off, standing in his car, holding a discus, a club, a mace, a scimitar, and a lotos, in his hands; ornamented with a garland of flowers; bearing a bow; and having his standard made of gold. He had, also, the Śrīvatsa¶ mark delineated on his breast; he was dressed in yellow garments, and decorated with ear-rings and a tiara.** When the god whose standard is Garuḍa beheld him, he laughed with a deep laugh, and engaged in conflict with the hostile host of cavalry and elephants, fighting with swords,†† scimitars,‡‡

according to his enumeration of them, are 261: my copy has 316. §§

* *Kāśi-pati*. See note †, below.

† सर्वसैन्यपरीवारः पार्ष्णिग्राह उपाययौ ।

Ratnagarbha defines पार्ष्णिग्राहः by सहायः, 'ally.' Compare Vol. IV., p. 2, text and note ¶.

‡ *Kāśi-rāja*. See Vol. IV., p. 344, supplementary note on p. 87.

§ The original has Keśava.

Probably the Translator forgot to strike out this word, after inserting 'club'. Kṛishṇa has only four insignia, named, in the original, as follows:

चक्रहस्तं गदाखड्गबाहुं पाणिगताम्बुजम् ।

For Kṛishṇa's complete equipment of weapons, *vide infra*, p. 149

¶ *Vide supra*, p. 13, text and note †. For the *Śrīvatsa* of the Jains, see Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 210.

** *Kirita*.

†† *Nistriṇṣa*.

‡‡ *Āśhṭi*.

§§ The Calcutta edition has 326; the Bombay edition, 317, in three Sections of 55, 128, and 134, severally.

maces, tridents,* spears,† and bows. Showering upon the enemy the shafts from his Śārṅga; bow, and hurling at them his mace and discus, he § quickly destroyed both the army of Pauṇdraka and that of the king of Kāśi. He then said to the former, who was foolishly wearing his emblems: “Pauṇdraka, you desired me, by your envoy, to resign to you all my insignia. I now deliver them to you. Here is my discus. Here I give up my mace. And here is Garuḍa:¶ let him mount upon thy standard” Thus speaking, he let fly the discus and the mace, by which Pauṇdraka was cut to pieces, and cast on the ground: whilst the Garuḍa (on his banner) was demolished by the Garuḍa (of Vishṇu). The people, beholding this sight, exclaimed “Alas! alas!” But the valiant king of Kāśi,** adhering to the imposture of his friend, continued the conflict,†† till Śauri:: decapitated him with his arrows, shooting his head into the city of Kāśi,§§ to the marvel of all the inhabitants. Having, thus, slain Pauṇdraka and the king of Kāśi, with all their followers, Śauri returned

* Śūla, ‘pikes’.

† Śakti.

‡ Corrected from “Śārṅga”, a mistake found in Professor Wilson’s Hindu-made version.

§ Janārdana, in the original.

Kāśi-rāja.

¶ Garuṭmat. in the Sanskrit; and so twice, just below.

** काशीनामधिपः, “king of the Kāśis,” literally.

†† युयुधे वासुदेवेन मित्रस्थापचित्ती स्थितः ।

The two commentators remark, in the same words: अपचित्ती ।

अनृषे स्थितः सन्युयुधे ।

:: This name does not appear in the original.

§§ Kāśi-puri, “the city of the Kāśis.

¶ Kāśi-rāja.

to Dwārakā,* where he lived in the enjoyment of heavenly delights.†

When the inhabitants of Kāśī: saw the head of their king§ shot into their city, they were much astonished, and wondered how it could have happened, and by whom the deed could have been done. Having ascertained that the king had been killed by Kṛishṇa,¶ the son of the monarch (of Kāśī),¹ together with the priest of the family, propitiated Śankara; and that deity, well pleased to be adored in the sacred place** Avimukta.†† desired the prince to demand a boon. On which he prayed, and said: "O lord, mighty god, through thy favour, let thy mystic spirit:: arise to destroy Kṛishṇa, the murderer of my father." "It shall be so," answered Śankara. And from out of the southern fire§§ up-sprang a vast and formidable female,² like flame out of

* The Bhāgavata names him Sudakṣiṇa; the Padma, Daṇḍapāni.

² A personified Kṛitṛā, a magical creation. The Padma has

* The Sanskrit has Dwāravati.

† पुनर्द्वारवतीं प्राप्तो रेमे स्वर्गगतो यथा ।

‡ Not literal.

§ Kāśī-pati.

¶ तच्छिरः पतितं दृष्ट्वा तत्र काश्रिपतेः पुरे ।

जनः किमेतदिदृष्ट्वा केनेत्यन्तविस्मितः ॥

¶ Vāsudeva, in the original.

** Mahā-kṣhetra.

†† This name of Benares is found in the Kāśī-khaṇḍa, as well. It occurs, also, in the Jābāla Upanishad. See my Benares, &c., p. 4, note 2.

:: "Thy mystic spirit" is to translate *kṛitṛā*, for which see note 2 in the present page.

§§ Dakṣiṇāgni. Vide *supra*, p. 114, note 1.

X., Latter Section, XVI., 27.

fire, blazing with ruddy light, and with fiery radiance streaming amidst her hair.* Angrily she called upon Kṛṣṇā, and departed to Dwārakā;† where the people, beholding her, were struck with dismay, and fled, for protection, to Madhusūdāna, the refuge of all worlds. The wielder of the discus,‡ knowing that the fiend§ had been produced by the son of the king of Kāśi, through his adoration of the deity whose emblem is a bull, and being engaged in sportive amusements, and playing at dice, said to the discus: "Kill this fierce creature,¶ whose tresses are of plaited flame." Accordingly, Sudarśana, the discus of Viṣṇu, immediately attacked the fiend,** fearfully enwreathed with fire, and wearing tresses of plaited flame.†† Terrified at the might of Sudarśana, the creation of Maheśwara‡‡ awaited not his attack, but fled with speed, pursued by him with equal velocity, until she reached Vārāṇasī, repelled by the superior might of the discus of Viṣṇu.

the same. The Bhāgavata makes the product of the sacrificial fire a male, and sends him to Dwārakā, accompanied by a host of Bhūtas, Śiva's attendant goblins.

* My MSS. present a great variety of readings in the epithets applied to the being under description.

† Dwāravati, in the Sanskrit.

‡ Chakrin.

§ Mahā-kṛtyā.

Kāśi-rāja.

¶ Kṛtyā.

** Kṛtyā.

†† This is far from literal; and the same may be said of the remainder of the paragraph.

‡‡ कृत्वा महिषी ।

The army of Kāśi,* and the host of the demigods attendant upon Śiva,† armed with all kinds of weapons, then sallied out, to oppose the discus; but, skilled in the use of arms, he consumed (the whole of) the forces by his radiance, and then set fire to the city, in which the magic power of Śiva‡ had concealed herself.¹ Thus was Vārāṇasī burnt, with all its princes and their followers, its inhabitants, horses, elephants, and men, treasures and granaries, houses, palaces, and markets.¶ The whole of a city that was inaccessible to the gods** was, thus, wrapped in flames by the discus of Hari, and was totally destroyed. The discus, then, with unmitigated wrath, and blazing fiercely, and far from satisfied with the accomplishment of so easy a task, returned to the hand of Viṣṇu.²††

¹ According to the Bhāgavata, the magical being, himself, destroys Sudakṣiṇa and his priest; but Sudarśana consumes the people and the city. The Padma ascribes the destruction of the king and all his city to the discus. The Hari Vamśa closes its narrative with the death of Pauṇḍraka, and makes no mention of the destruction of Benares. The circumstance‡‡ is alluded to, in a preceding section (s. 159), by Nārada, when detailing the exploits of Kṛiṣṇa.

² In this legend, again, we have a contest between the followers

* *Kāśi-bala*; which may mean either "the army of the Kāśis" or "the army of the king of the Kāśis."

† This phrase is to represent *pramatha*.

‡ *दग्धा* implies combustion.

§ "The magic power of Śiva" is to render *kṛitya*.

Prākāra.

¶ *Chatwara*.

** दुर्निरीक्षां सुरैरपि ।

†† The latter portion of this paragraph is translated very freely.

‡‡ Namely, of the burning of Benares.

of Viṣṇu and Śiva intimated; as, besides the assistance given, by the latter, to Pauṇḍraka, Benares—Vārāṇasī or Avimukta,* —has been, from all time, as it is at present, the high place of the Śaiva worship.† There is, also, an indication of a Vaiṣṇava schism, in the competition between Pauṇḍra and Kṛishṇa for the title of Vāsudeva and the insignia of his divinity.

* Corrected from "Atimukti". *Vide supra*, p. 126, text and note ††.

† See my *Benares*, &c., p. 18, note 2.

CHAPTER XXXV.

Sámba carries off the daughter of Duryodhana, but is taken prisoner. Balaráma comes to Hastinápura, and demands his liberation: it is refused: in his wrath, he drags the city towards him, to throw it into the river. The Kuru chiefs give up Sámba and his wife.

MAITREYA.—I have a (great) desire to hear, (excellent) Brahman, some further account of the exploits of Balaráma.* You have related to me his dragging the Yamuná,† and other mighty deeds: but you can tell me, venerable sir,‡ some other of his§ acts.

PARÁSARA.—Attend, Maitreya, to the achievements performed by Ráma, who is the eternal, illimitable Śeṣha, the upholder of the earth. At the choice of a husband by the daughter of Duryodhana, the princess was carried off by the hero Sámba, the son of Jámbarvatí.¶ Being pursued by Duryodhana,** Karna,†† Bhishma,‡‡ Droṇa, and other celebrated chiefs, who were incensed at his audacity, he was defeated and taken prisoner.§§ When the Yádavas heard of the oc-

* Balabhadra, in the Sanskrit.

† *Vide supra*, pp. 65—68.

‡ *Mahābhāga*.

§ Bala's, according to the original.

¶ Her name was Lakshmaṇá, according to the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, X., Latter Section, XVIII., 1.

¶ *Vide supra*, p. 79, note ¶; and p. 107.

** See Vol. IV., p. 158.

†† *Ibid.*, pp. 102 and 126.

‡‡ *Ibid.*, p. 157.

§§ ततः कुशा महावीर्याः कर्णदुर्योधनादयः ।

भीष्मद्रोणादयश्चैनं बबन्धुयुधि निजितम् ॥

The translation of this stanza, as will be seen, is considerably interpolated.

currence, their wrath was kindled against Duryodhana and his associates; and they prepared to take up arms against them.* But Baladeva,† in accents interrupted by the effects of ebriety,‡ forbade them, and said: “I will go, alone, to the sons of Kuru.§ They will liberate Sám̐ba, at my request.” Accordingly, he went to the elephant-styled city (Hastinápura), but took up his abode in a grove without the town, which he did not enter. When Duryodhana and the rest heard that he had arrived there, they sent him a cow, a present of fruits and flowers, and water.** Bala received the offering in the customary form, and said to the Kauravas: “Ugrasena†† commands you to set Sám̐ba at liberty.” When Bhishma, Droṇa, Kárṇa, Duryodhana, and the others heard this, they were (very) angry; and Báhlīka‡‡ and other (friends of the) Kauravas, who looked upon the Yadu race as not entitled to regal dignity, said to the wielder of the club:§§ “What is this, Bala-bhadra, that thou hast uttered? What Yádava shall give orders to the chiefs of the family of Kuru? If Ugrasena issues his mandates to the Kauravas, then

* चक्रुश्च तान्निहन्तुं महोद्यमम् ।

† The Sanskrit has Bala

‡ मदलोलकलाक्षरम् ।

§ Kaurava.

|| I find two readings, — नगरं नागसाङ्ख्यं and नगरं गजसाङ्ख्यम् । For Hastinápura or Hastinapura, see Vol. IV., p. 139

¶ Bala, in the original.

** गामर्घ्यमुदकं चैव रामाय प्रत्यवेदयन् ।

†† See Vol. IV., p. 98; also, *supra*, p. 45.

‡‡ See Vol. IV., p. 154, where correct “Váhlīka”.

§§ Musalīyudha. Vide *supra*, p. 67, note **.

|| See Vol. IV., pp. 148 and 152.

we must take away the white umbrella that he has usurped, and which is fit only for kings.* Depart, therefore, Balarāma.† You are entitled to our respect: but Sāmba has been guilty of improper conduct; and we will not liberate him, either at Ugrasena's commands, or yours. The homage that is due to us, their superiors, by the Kukura‡ and Andhaka§ tribes, may not be paid by them. But who ever heard of a command issued by a servant to his master? Elevation to an equal seat has rendered you arrogant. We have committed a great mistake, in neglecting, through our friendship for you, the policy that teaches the danger of treating the abject with deference).¶ Our sending you (to-day,) a respectful present** was an intimation

तदलं पाण्डुरैरुच्छिन्नं पयोर्मिर्विडम्बितः ।

So reads Śrīdhara, from whom Ratnagarbha differs, in ending the verse with अलं कतिः ।

† Bala, in the Sanskrit.

‡ Corrected from "Kukkura". For Kukura, see Vol. IV., p. 97

§ See Vol. IV., p. 96. Instead of the ordinary reading, कुरुरान्धकेः, my oldest and best MSS. of Ratnagarbha's text have कुरुबान्धवेः. "titula Kurus"

प्रसतिर्या कृतास्माकमार्याणां कुरुरान्धकेः ।

न नाम सा कृता केयमाज्ञा स्वामिनि भृत्यतः ॥

This is Śrīdhara's reading. Ratnagarbha substitutes मान्यानां for आर्याणां, and भृत्यवत् for भृत्यतः । Also see note §, above. It is scarcely worth while to dwell on the Translator's misapprehension of this unimportant passage.

In the couplet cited occurs the word *arya*, in connexion with which the reader will, perhaps, pardon a digression. The reverse of *arya*, *anarya*, 'disreputable', has, in Hindi, become corrupted into *anari*, 'inexpert', 'artless', 'stupid'. It being assumed, further, by popular etymology, that *anari* is compounded of *a* and *nari*, we have, by the prefixing of *su*, 'good', to the latter, *sunari*, 'expert', 'knowing', 'clever'.

॥ को दोषो भवतां नीतिर्यत्प्रीत्या नावलोकिता ।

** *Argha*.

of (personal) regard, which it was neither fit for our race to have proffered, nor for yours to have expected."

Having thus spoken, the Kuru chiefs, unanimously refusing to set the son of Hari at large, immediately returned into the city.* Bala, † rolling about with intoxication, and the wrath which their contemptuous language had excited, struck the ground furiously with his heel, so that it burst to pieces with a loud sound that reverberated through the regions of space.‡ His eyes reddened with rage, and his brow was curved with frowns, as he exclaimed: "What arrogance is this, in such vile and pithless creatures! The sovereignty of the Kauravas, as well as our own, is the work of fate,§ whose decree it, also, is, that they now disrespect or disobey the commands of Ugrasena. Indra may, of right, give his orders to the gods; and Ugrasena exercises equal authority with the lord of Sachi. Fie upon the pride that boasts a throne the leavings of a hundred mortals!¶ Is not he the sovereign of the earth, the wives of whose servants adorn themselves with the blossoms of the Párijáta-tree? Ugrasena shall be the undisputed king of kings; for I will not return to his capital, until I have rid the world wholly of the sons of Kuru.** I will destroy Káríā,

* विविशुर्गजसाङ्गयम् ।

† The original has Haláyudha.

‡ A free rendering; and so is the rest of the Chapter, generally.

§ Kála.

¶ Sachi, in the Sanskrit.

** धिक्पुन्यशतोच्छिष्टे तुष्टिरेषां नृपासने ।

So reads Śridhara. Ratnagarbha begins the verse with धिक्पुन्यशतोच्छिष्टे ।

समस्तभूमिषां नाथ उयसेनः स तिष्ठतु ।

अथ निष्कौरवामुर्वीं कृत्वा यास्यामि तत्पुत्रीम् ॥

Duryodhana, Droṇa, Bhīṣma, Báhlīka, Duḥśāsana,[†] Bhūriśravas,[‡] Somadatta,[§] Sala,[§] Bhīma, Arjuna, Yudhishtīra,[¶] the twins,[¶] and all the other vile descendants of Kuru, with their horses, elephants, and chariots. I will rescue the hero Sāmba from captivity, and carry him, along with his wife, to Dwārakā, where I shall again behold Ugrasena and the rest of my kin. Or, authorized by the king of the gods to remove the burthens of the earth, I will take this capital of the Kauravas,^{**} with all the sons of Kuru, and cast the city of the elephant^{††} into the Bhágíraṭhī.”^{‡‡}

So saying, the wielder of the club,^{§§} (Baladeva), his eyes red with rage, plunged the blade of his ploughshare downwards, beneath the ramparts of the city,^{¶¶} and drew them towards him. When the Kauravas beheld Hastinápura tottering, they were much alarmed, and called loudly (on Rāma), saying: “Rāma, Rāma! Hold, hold! Suppress your wrath! Have mercy upon us! Here is Sāṅbha, and his wife, also, delivered up to

* See Vol. IV., p. 158.

† Ratnagarbha's text introduces both Bhūri and Bhūriśravas.

‡ For Somadatta and his sons, Bhūri, Bhūriśravas, and Śala, see Vol. IV., p. 157.

§ Corrected from “Śalya”, for which I find no authority. See note †, above; also, *supra*, p. 70, text and note **.

¶ For these three personages, see Vol. IV., pp. 102 and 159.

¶ According to the commentators, Nakula and Sahadeva. See, for them, Vol. IV., pp. 103 and 159.

** *Kauravādhāni*.

†† नगरं नागसाह्वयम् ।

‡‡ See Vol. III., p. 303.

§§ *Musalāyudha*. *Vide supra*, p. 67, note **.

¶¶ “The blade of his ploughshare” is to render *hala*. *Vide supra*, p. 51, note †.

¶¶ *Prākāra-vapra*.

thee. Forgive our sins, committed in ignorance of thy wondrous power.”* Accordingly, issuing, hurriedly, from the city, the Kauravas delivered Sám̐ba and his bride to the mighty Balaráma, who, bowing to Bhíshma, Droṇa, and Kṛipa,† who addressed him in conciliatory language, said “I am satisfied,” and so desisted. The city bears the marks of the shock it received, even to the present day,—such was the might of Ráma,—proving both his strength and prowess. The Kauravas, then, offering homage to Sám̐ba and to Bala,‡ dismissed the former, with his wife and a bridal portion.¹

¹ This adventure is related in the Bhágavata, and very briefly noticed in the Hari Vaṁśa; but I have not found any mention of it in the Mahābhārata. It may have been suggested, originally, by Hastinápura having sustained some injury, either from an earthquake, or from the encroachments of the river, which, as is recorded, compelled the removal of the capital to Kauśámbi (Vol. IV., p. 164).

* अविज्ञातप्रभावाणां बभूवतामपराधिनाम् ।

† See Vol. IV., p. 147.

‡ Halin, in the Sanskrit. *Vide supra*, p. 84, note ¶. Halin means the same as Haláyudha, for which *vide supra*, p. 63, text and note |.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

The Asura Dwivida, in the form of an ape, destroyed by Balarāma.

HEAR, also, Maitreya, another exploit performed by the mighty Balarāma.* The great Asura,† the foe of the friends of the gods, Naraka,‡ had a friend, of exceeding prowess, in the monkey named Dwivida, who was animated by implacable hostility against the deities, and vowed to revenge on the whole of them the destruction of Naraka by Kṛishṇa, at the instigation of the king of the celestials, by preventing sacrifices, and effecting the annihilation of the mortal sphere. Blinded by ignorance, he, accordingly, interrupted all religious rites, subverted all righteous observances, and occasioned the death of living beings. He set fire to the forests, to villages, and to towns; sometimes he overwhelmed cities and hamlets with falling rocks; or, lifting up mountains in the waters,§ he cast them into the ocean: then, taking his place amidst the deep, he agitated the waves, until the foaming sea rose above its confines, and swept away the villages and cities situated upon its shores. Dwivida, also, who could assume what shape he would, enlarged his bulk to an immense size: and, rolling, and tumbling, and trampling amidst the cornfields, he crushed and spoiled

* Bala, in the original.

† *Asurendra*.

‡ *Vide supra*, pp. 87, *et seq.*

§ तोयेषु । Some MSS. have पोतेषु,—“in boats”,—a reading noticed by Ratnagarbha.

the harvests.* The whole world, disordered by this iniquitous monkey, was deprived of sacred study† and religious rites,‡ and was greatly afflicted. •

On one occasion, Haláyudha§ was drinking in the groves of Raivata, along with the illustrious Revatī and other beautiful females; and the distinguished Yadu, in whose praises songs were sung, and who was preeminent amidst graceful and sportive women, resembled Kubera, the god of riches, in his palace.¶ Whilst thus engaged, the monkey (Dwivida) came there, and, stealing the ploughshare** and the club of Baladeva,†† grinned at and mocked him,‡‡ and laughed at the women, and threw over and broke the cups filled with wine.§§ Balarāma, becoming angry at this,

• कामरूपी महारूपं कृत्वा सस्यान्यशेषतः ।
कुण्डन्ध्रमणसमर्देः संचूर्णयति वानरः ।

† *Swadhyāga*.

‡ *Vashatkāra*. See Vol. II., p. 29, note §, and Vol. III., p. 122, note τ.

§ *Vide supra*, p. 63, note †.

See Vol. III., p. 254.

¶ उपगीयमानो विलसद्बलनामौलिमध्यगः ।
रेमे यदुवरश्रेष्ठः कुबेर इव मन्दिरे ॥

So reads Śrīdhara, according to the only copy of his commentary at my command. Both the scholiasts give the first line hypermetrical, as above; but Ratnagarbha has -लोकं, instead of -मौलिं. In lieu of Śrīdhara's मन्दिरे, at the end of the stanza, I find, everywhere else, मन्दरे, "on Mandara". On this mountain was Chaitraratha, the garden of Kubera. See Vol. II., p. 110, note •; and Vol. IV., p. 6. ** *Hala*. †† The Sanskrit has Sirin. See Vol. IV., p. 82, note †; and Vol. III., p. 332, note ¶. Sirin is, the same as Halin, &c. *Vide supra*, p. 135, note †.

‡‡ चकारास्य संमुखं च विडम्बनम् ।

§§ पानपूर्णांश्च करकांश्चिषेपाहृत्य वै पदा ।

For आहृत्य, some MSS. have आहृत्य । •

Bala, in the original.

threatened the monkey: but the latter disregarded his menaces, and made a chattering noise;* on which, Bala, starting up, seized his club, in wrath: and the monkey† laid hold of a large rock, which he hurled at the hero. Bala, casting his club at it, as it neared him, broke it into a thousand fragments, which, together with the club, fell upon the ground.: Beholding the club prostrate, the monkey sprang over it, and struck the Yādava violently on the breast with his paws. Bala replied with a blow of his fist upon the forehead‡ of Dwivida, which felled him—vomiting blood, and lifeless,—to the earth. The crest of the mountain on which he fell was splintered into a hundred pieces by (the weight of) his body, as if the Thunderer had shivered it with his thunderbolt. The gods threw down a shower of flowers upon Rāma, and approached him, and praised him for the glorious feat he had performed. “Well has the world been freed,” said they, “by thy prowess, O hero, of this vile ape, who was the ally of the enemy of the gods!”¶ Then they and their attendant spirits** returned, well pleased.

* चक्रे किलिकिलाध्वनिम् । Variants: किलिकिल° and किलिकिला° ।

† *Plavaga*.

: विधिप च स तां चिन्तां मुसलेन सहस्रधा ।

विभेदं यादवश्रेष्ठः सा पपात महीतले ॥

आपतन्मुसलं चासौ समुल्लङ्घ्य शर्वगम् ।

वेगेनागम्य रोषेण तलेनोरस्यताडयत् ॥

§ *Mūrdhan*.

|| *Vajrin*, i. e., Indra.

¶ *Daitya-pakshopakarīn*.

** “Attendant spirits” is to render *guhya*ka. The *Guhya*kas attended on Kubera. See Vol. I., p. 122; Vol. III., p. 116, note †.

to heaven. Many such inimitable* deeds were wrought by the illustrious† Baladeva, (the impersonation of) Śeṣha, the supporter of the earth.¹

¹ This exploit of Balarāma is, also, similarly, but more vulgarly, related in the Bhāgavata. It is simply said, in the Hari Vamśa,‡—and erroneously,—that Mainda§ and Dwivida were conquered by Kṛishṇa.

* *Aparimeya*.

† *Dhīmat*.

‡ *Śl.* 9802.

§ Corrected from "Menda".

CHAPTER XXXVII.

Destruction of the Yādavas. Sāmba and others deceive and ridicule the Rīshis. The former bears an iron pestle: it is broken, and thrown into the sea. The Yādavas go to Prabhāsa, by desire of Kṛishṇa: they quarrel and fight, and all perish. The great serpent Śeṣha issues from the mouth of Rāma. Kṛishṇa is shot by a hunter, and again becomes one with universal spirit.

IN this manner did Kṛishṇa, assisted by Baladeva, destroy demons*, and iniquitous monarchs, for the good of the earth: and, along with Phālguna,† also, did he: relieve earth of her load, by the death of innumerable hosts.‡ Having, thus, lightened the burthens of the earth, and slain many (unrighteous princes), he exterminated, by the pretext of an imprecation denounced by Brahmans, his own (Yādava) race. Then, quitting Dwārakā, and relinquishing his mortal being,

* A name of Arjuna, the great friend of Krishna, to whom the latter served as charioteer, in the war between the Pāndus and Kurus.

• *Daitya*.

† For the various names of Arjuna, and their origin, see the *Mahabharata*, *Virāṭa-parvan*, śl. 1375, *et seq.*

‡ The original here names Hari.

§ समसाधौहिणीवधात् । For *akṣanhuim*, vide *supra*, p. 50, notes 2 and ..

My Arrah MS. here inserts as follows:

त्यक्त्वा सामुष्यकं भावं देवदेवो जतार्दनः ।
 कृत्वा चान्यानि कार्याणि देज्ञानां हितकाम्यया ॥
 दुर्योधनस्य विप्रर्षे युधिष्ठिरपुरोगमैः ।
 पाण्डवैर्भेदमुत्पन्नमुपेक्षत विमुखादा ॥

the self-born reentered, with all his emanations,¹ his own sphere of Vishnu.*

MATREYA.—Tell me how Janárdana effected the destruction of his own race, under the plea of Brahmanical imprecation; and in what manner he relinquished his mortal body.²

PARÁŚARA.—At the holy place† Piñdáraka,³ Viśwámitra,§ Kañwa, and the great sage Nárada were

¹ With Balaráma, Pradyumna, Aniruddha, and the rest.

² The legend of the destruction of the Yádava race and the death of Kṛishná appears, probably, in its earliest extant form, in the Mausala Parvan of the Mahábhárata. It forms the narrative portion of the Eleventh Book of the Bhágavata; having been previously briefly adverted to in the First and Third Books; and it is summarily told in the Utara Khanda of the Padma Purána.

³ The village of Piñdáraka, still held in veneration, is situated in Gujerat, about twenty miles from the north-west extremity of the Peninsula. Hamilton, Vol. I., p. 664.

अन्वमोदत्ततः क्षणस्ततो वैरमकारयत् ।
तत्र हत्वा कुरुन्सर्वान्पाण्डवेयैः परस्परम् ।
अगाम निर्वृतिं देवो अगतां पतिरीश्वरः ।
अवीहिष्यो हतास्तत्र अष्टादश महामुने ॥

A second of my copies gives the same verses, with the variation of only three words.

It is not palpable that this passage is an interpolation. The first line of it does not repeat the sense of what immediately precedes it,—Professor Wilson's "relinquishing his mortal body",—the Sanskrit of which is **त्यक्त्वा मानुष्यं**, i. e., according to both the commentators, **मनुष्यनायं**. 'personation of man'

• सांशो विष्णुमयं स्थानं प्रविशेश पुनर्निजम् ।

† *Mahá-tirtha*.

‡ Connected, perhaps, with Piñdáraka, son of Vasudeva and Rohini. See Vol. IV., p. 109, text and note †.

§ See Vol. III., p. 14, note 1, near the end.

Ibid., p. 57.

observed by some boys of the Yadu tribe. Giddy with youth, and influenced by predestined results,* they dressed and adorned Sāmba, the son of Jāmbavatī, as a damsel; and, conducting her to the sages, they addressed them with the usual marks of reverence, and said: "What child will this female, the wife of Babhru, † who is anxious to have a son, give birth to?" The sages, who were possessed of divine wisdom, were very angry to find themselves thus tricked by the boys, and said: "She will bring forth a club, that shall crush the whole of the Yādava race." The boys, thus spoken to by the sages, went and related all that had occurred to Ugrasena: and (as foretold,) a club was produced from the belly of Sāmba. Ugrasena had the club—which was of iron,—ground to dust, and thrown into the sea; but the particles of dust (there) became rushes.¹ There

¹ The term is Erakā (एरका), which is explained, in some medical lexicons, "a kind of grass." The commentator; also calls it a kind of grass; and, in the text of the Mahābhārata, the term subsequently used, and as synonymous with it, is Triṇa (तृण), 'grass.' The Mahābhārata, when describing the affray which follows, mentions, that the grass, or rushes, on being plucked by Kṛishṇa and the Yādavas, turn to clubs. The text, and that of the Bhāgavata, here say, that the powdered particles, floating on the sea, became rushes. Or the latter may imply, that they fastened upon grass or weeds. The commentator, however, explains, that, the particles of iron being borne to land, they were so transformed. The Mahābhārata says nothing of the piece

* भाविकार्यप्रचोदिताः ।

† See Vol. IV, p. 72.

ः एरकाः । धारात्रयोपेतास्तृणभेदाः । Śrīdhara. एरकाः । त्रिधार-
तृणविशेषाः । Ratnagarbha.

was one part of the iron club which was like (the blade of) a lance,* and which the Andhakas could not break.† This, when thrown into the sea, was swallowed by a fish: the fish was caught, the iron spike was extracted from its belly, and was taken by a hunter named Jaras.‡ The all-wise§ and glorious Madhusūdāna did not think fit to counteract what had been predetermined by fate.

Then there came to Keśava, when he was private and alone, a messenger from the gods, who addressed him with reverence, and said: "I am sent to you, O lord, by the deities. And do thou hear what Indra, together with the Viśwas,¶ Aświns,** Maruts, Ādityas, Rudras, and Sādhyas, respectfully represents. "More than a hundred years have elapsed since thou, in favour to the gods,†† hast descended upon earth, for

which could not be pounded; and this seems to be an embellishment, either of our text or the Bhāgavata. The Mahābhārata, however, adds another precaution, which the two others have left unnoticed. Ugrasena causes a proclamation to be made, that none of the inhabitants of Dwārakā shall, thenceforth, drink wine, on pain of being impaled alive; and the people, for some time, observe the prohibition.

* *Tomara*.

† The original yields 'triturate': चूर्णयितुं शेकुर्न ।

‡ Corrected from "Jarā". *Vide infra*, p. 152, note ‡.

§ विज्ञातपरमार्थः ।

¶ Śakra, in the Sanskrit.

¶ *Vide supra*, p. 101, note *. Ratnagarbha reads 'Vasus'. My Ajmere MS. yields "Ādityas, Rudras, Sādhyas, Aświns, Vasus, Agnis, Maruts, &c.," and in this order.

** I have inserted this word, inadvertently omitted by the Translator.

†† त्रिदशैः संप्रसादितः ।

the purpose of relieving it of its load. The demons* have been slain, and the burthen of earth has been removed. Now let the immortals once again behold their monarch in heaven.† A period exceeding a century has passed. Now, if it be thy pleasure, return to Swarga. This is the solicitation of the celestials. But, should such not be thy will, then remain here as long as it may be desirable to thy dependants.”‡ To this, Kṛishṇa replied:§ “All that thou hast said I am well aware of. The destruction of the Yādavas by me has commenced. The burthens of the earth are not removed, until the Yādavas are extirpated. I will effect this, also, in my descent, and quickly; for it shall come to pass in seven nights. When I have restored the land of Dwārakā to the ocean, and annihilated the race of Yadu, I will proceed to the mansions of the immortals. Apprise the gods, that, having abandoned my human body, and accompanied by Sankarshaṇa, I will then return to them. . The tyrants that oppressed the earth,

¹ Nothing of this kind occurs in the Mahābhārata. Our text, therefore, offers an embellishment. The Bhāgavata, again, improves upon the text; for, not content with a messenger, it makes Brahmā (with the Prajāpatis), Śiva (with the Bhūtas), Indra (with the other divinities), all come, in person; indicating, evidently, a

* *Daitya.*

† स्वया सनाथास्त्रिदशा भवन्तु त्रिदिवे पुनः ।

‡ देवैर्विज्ञायते चेदमथाश्व रतिस्तव ।

तत्स्थीयतां यथाकालमाख्येमनुजीविभिः ॥

§ श्रीभगवानुवाच ।

मानुषं देहमुत्सृज्य संकर्षणसंहायवान् ।

प्राप्त एवास्मि मन्त्रव्यो देवेन्द्रेण तथा सुरैः ॥

—Jarásandha and the rest,—have been killed; and a youth, even, of the race of Yadu, is, no less than they, an incumbrance. When, therefore, I have taken away this great weight upon earth, I will return to protect the sphere of the celestials.* Say this to them.” The messenger of the gods, having received this reply, bowed, and took his heavenly course to the king of the gods.

The mighty (Kṛishṇa) now beheld signs and portents,† both in earth and heaven, prognosticating, day and night, the ruin of Dwaraká.¹ Showing these to the

later date, as plainly as the addition of the text shows it to be subsequent to the date of the legend in the Mahābhārata.

¹ The Mahābhārata, which delights in describing portents and signs, does not fail to detail them here. A dreadful figure, death personified, haunts every house, coming and going no one knows how, and being invulnerable to the weapons by which he is assailed. Strong hurricanes blow; large rats multiply, and infest the roads and houses, and attack persons in their sleep; Śárikás (or starlings,) utter inauspicious screams in their cages; storks imitate the hooting of owls; and goats, the howling of jackals; cows bring forth foals; and camels, mules; food, in the moment of being eaten, is filled with worms; fire burns, with discoloured flames; and, at sunset and sunrise, the air is traversed by headless and hideous spirits. There is more to the same effect, which neither our text nor the Bhāgavata has ventured to detail. The whole passage has been published in Maurice’s Ancient History of Hindustan, Vol. II., p. 463; translated, apparently, by the late Sir Charles Wilkins. The names have been much disfigured either by the copyist or compositor.

* *Amara-loka*.

† “Signs and portents” is to render *utpáta*.

Yādavas, he said: "See! Behold these fearful phenomena! Let us hasten to Prabhāsa, to avert these omens."* "When he had thus spoken to the eminent Yādava,† the illustrious Uddhava‡ saluted and said to him: "Tell me, O lord, what it is proper that I should do. For it seems to me, that thou wilt destroy all this race. The signs (that are manifest) declare (nothing less than) the annihilation of the tribe." Then Kṛishṇa§ replied to him: "Do you go by a celestial route, which my favour shall provide you, to the holy (place) Badarikāśrāma, in the Gandhamādana mountain, the shrine of Naranārāyaṇa;¶ and, on that spot, sanctified by them, thou, by meditating on me, shalt obtain perfection,** through my favour. When the race (of Yadu) shall have perished, I shall proceed to heaven; and the ocean shall inundate Dwārakā, when I have quitted it." Accordingly, Uddhava, thus instructed†† by Keśava, saluted him with veneration, and departed to the shrine of Naranārāyaṇa.¹

¹ In the Mahābhārata, it is said, merely, that Uddhava, who was versed in Yoga, foreseeing the destruction of the Yādavas,

* शमायेषां प्रभासं याम मा चिरम् ।

† एवमुक्ते तु कृष्णेन यादवप्रवरस्ततः ।

This verse is recognized by Śrīdhara, but not by Ratnagarbha, and the sense is complete without it. My Ajmere MS. gives it; my Arrah MS. omits it.

‡ See Vol. IV., p. 113, notes 1 and ‡.

§ Bhagavat, in the original.

¶ Ratnagarbha calls this hermitage by its shorter name, Badari, instead of Badarikā, the form preferred by Śrīdhara.

¶ We have already had mention of it. *Vide supra*, p. 62.

** *Siddhi*.

†† *Anumodita*.

Then the Yádavas ascended their rapid cars, and drove to Prabhása,¹ along with Kṛishná, Ráma. and the rest of their chiefs.² They bathed there; and, excited * by Vāsudeva, the Kukuras† and Andhakas indulged in liquor. As they drank, the destructive flame of dissension was kindled amongst them by mutual collision, and fed with the fuel of abuse. Infuriated by the divine influence, they fell upon one another with missile weapons;‡ and, when those were expended, they had recourse to the rushes§ growing nigh. The rushes in their hands became like thunderbolts; and they struck one another, with them, fatal blows.

went away; that is, according to the commentator, he practised penance, and went to heaven: जगाम योगमाखाय परलोकम् । The Bhágavata, taking the hint, makes much more of it than our text, and expands it into a long course of instruction, given by Kṛishná to Uddhava, occupying 150 leaves.

¹ *Vide supra*, p. 47, note 2. By sending the Yádavas to Prabhása, (the commentator asserts,) Kṛishná prevented, purposely, the Yádavas from obtaining Mukti, 'final liberation', which would have been the consequence of dying at Dwaraká. Death at Prabhása conferred only Indra's heaven.

² The Mahábhárata describes them as going forth with horses, elephants, and cars, and their women and abundance of good cheer, and varieties of wine and meat:

बहुगुणविधं चकुर्मयं मांसमनेकशः ।

* *Anumodita*.

† Corrected, here and frequently elsewhere, from "Kukuras".

‡ *Śastra*, which almost always signifies an edged weapon, in contradistinction from *astra*, 'a missile weapon'.

§ *Eraká*. *Vide supra*, p. 142, note 1.

• *Sudárúna*.

Pradyumna, Sám̐ba, Kṛitavarman,* Sátyaki,† Anirudha,‡ Prīthu, Viprīthu,§ Cháruvarman,§ Cháruka, Akrúra, and many others struck one another with the rushes, which had assumed the hardness of thunderbolts¹. Keśava interposed, to prevent them; but they thought that he was taking part with each, severally,

¹ The Bhāgavata, like the text, adverts only in this general manner to the conflict; but the Mahābhārata gives the particulars. Yuyudhána¶ reproaches Kṛitavarman with having aided Aswattháman** in his night-attack on the Pándu camp, and killing warriors in their sleep. Pradyumna joins in the abuse. Kṛitavarman retorts. Kṛishná looks at him angrily. Sátyaki repeats the story of the Syamantaka gem, by which he accuses Kṛitavarman of being an accomplice in the murder of Satrajita†† (See Vol. IV., pp. 75. *et seq.*). Satyabhámá,‡‡ the daughter of the latter, then mixes in the quarrel, and incites Kṛishná to avenge her; but Sátyaki anticipates him, and murders Kṛitavarman. Śaineya§§ and the Bhojas attack Sátyaki; the Andhakas defend him; and the affray becomes general. Kṛishná attempts to part the combatants, until Pradyumna is killed; and, then, taking up a handful of rushes, which become an iron club, he kills, indiscriminately, all that come in his way. The conflict continues, until the greater part of the combatants have fallen, including all Kṛishná's sons; and he then, in wrath, sweeps off all the survivors, except Babhrú and Dáruka, with his discus.

* See Vol. IV., p. 99.

† *Ibid.*, p. 93.

‡ For these two brothers, see Vol. IV., p. 96.

§ I know nothing of him. In Vol. IV., p. 113, we have a Sucharu. One of my MSS. has Chárudharman.

¶ The same as Cháru, for whom see p. 78, *supra*.

¶ The same as Sátyaki. See Vol. IV., p. 93.

** See Vol. IV., p. 147.

†† Corrected from "Satrajit".

‡‡ See Vol. IV., p. 80.

§§ Was this Satyaka, Sátyaki's father? See Vol. IV., p. 92.

and continued the conflict. Kṛishṇa, then took up a handful of rushes, and destroyed them; and the rushes became a club of iron. And with this he slew many of the murderous Yādavas; whilst others, fighting fiercely, put an end to one another. The chariot of the holder of the discus,* named Jaitra, was quickly carried off by the (swift) steeds, and swept away by the sea, in the sight of Dāruka, (the charioteer). The discus, the club, the bow, the quiver, the shell, and the sword† (of Keśava), having circumambulated their lord,‡ fled along the path of the sun. In a short time there was not a single Yādava left alive, except the mighty Kṛishṇa and Dāruka.¹ Going towards Rāma, who was sitting at the root of a tree, they beheld a large serpent coming out of his mouth. Having issued from his mouth, the mighty§ snake proceeded towards

¹ The Mahābhārata, as observed at the end of the last note, adds Babhru; but it presently gets rid of him. Kṛishṇa sends him to take care of the old people, the women, and children, in Dwārakā, whilst Dāruka goes to bring Arjuna to their aid. But, as he goes along,—overcome with grief for the loss of his kindred, and approaching separation from Kṛishṇa,—he is killed by a club that is cast from a snare, or trap, set by a hunter. Kṛishṇa then goes to Dwārakā, and desires Vasudeva to await the coming of Arjuna; after which, he returns to Rāma, and sees the phenomenon described in the text; the serpent being Śesha, of whom Balarāma was the incarnation. The Bhāgavata does not mention this incident; merely observing, that Rāma, by the power of Yoga, returned into himself,—that is, into Vishṇu.

* *Chakrin*.

† *Vide supra*, p. 124; also, a passage towards the end of Chapter VII. of Book VI.

‡ Hari, in the Sanskrit.

§ *Mahābhoga*.

the ocean, hymned by ^{gods}, * and by other great serpents. Bringing an offering of respect, Ocean came to meet him; and, then, the majestic being, adored by attendant snakes, entered into the waters of the deep. † Beholding the departure of (the spirit of) Balabhadra, Kesava said to Druka: "All this is to be related, by you, to Vasudeva and Ugrasena. Go and inform them of the departure of Balabhadra, and the destruction of the Yādavas; also, that I shall engage in religious meditation, and quit this body. Apprise Ahuka, § and all the inhabitants of Dwārakā, ¹ that the sea will inundate the town. Be ready, therefore, in expectation of the coming of Arjuna; and, when he quits Dwārakā, no longer abide there, but go whithersoever that descendant of Kuru shall repair. Do you, also, go to the son of Kuntī, ¶ and tell him, that it is my request that he will grant what protection he can to all my family.

¹ The women, the elders, and the children, amongst whom, as we shall presently see, was Vajra, the son of *Aniruddha,** who was established as chief of the Yādavas at Indraprastha, and who, therefore, escaped the destruction which overwhelmed their kinsmen, the Vīṣṇuis, Kukurās, and Andhakas, of Dwārakā. This was a fortunate reservation for the tribes which, in various parts of Hindusthan,—both on the Ganges and in the Deccan,—profess to derive their origin from the Yādavas. ††

* *Siddha*.

† प्रविवेक्ष च तत्तोयं पूजितः पद्मगोक्षभिः ।

‡ Bala, in the original.

§ Father of Ugrasena. See Vol. IV., p. 98.

Here called Pāṇḍava, in the Sanskrit.

¶ Kaunteya; namely, Arjuna. See Vol. IV., pp. 101, 102, and 159.

** *Vide supra*, p. 108, text and note •.

†† See Vol. IV., p. 58, notes 2 and §.

Then depart, with Arjuna and all the people of Dwáravatí; and let Vajra be installed as sovereign over the tribe of Yadu.”*

Dáruka, being thus instructed, prostrated himself, again and again, before Kṛishná, and walked round him repeatedly, and then departed, as he had been desired; and, having conducted Arjuna to Dwáravatí, † the intelligent (servant of Kṛishná) established Vajra as king. The divine Govinda, then, having concentrated in himself that supreme spirit: which is one with Vāsudeva, was identified with all beings.¹ Respecting the words of the Brahman,—the imprecation of Durvāsas,² §—the

* The process is explained by the commentator: “By the force of Dhyána (or abstraction). Kṛishná satisfies himself that he is Brahma (ब्रह्मैवाहमिति ध्यात्वा), or universal spirit; and is, next, convinced, that he is, therefore, all things (सर्वभूतान्ययमेव); by which his individuality ceases.” •

† The story is told in the Mahābhārata. ¶ Durvāsas was, on one occasion, hospitably entertained by Kṛishná; but the latter omitted to wipe away the fragments of the meal which had fallen on the foot of the irascible sage, who, thereupon, foretold, that Kṛishná should be killed as in the text.

• वज्रस्य यदुराज्येऽभिविध्यताम् । So Śrīdhara. • Ratnagarbha reads: वज्रस्य यदुराजो भविष्यति ।

† Corrected, here and just above, from “Dwáravatí”. The original has Dwáaraká.

‡ परं ब्रह्म ।

§ दुर्वीक्षा यदुवाच । See, for Durvāsas, Vol. I., pp. 135 and 154.

¶ What follows is taken from Śrīdhara, whose words are: आत्मनि परं ब्रह्म समारोप्य ब्रह्मैवाहमिति ध्यात्वा तमात्मानं सर्वभूतेष्वधारयत्सर्वभूतान्ययमेवेति दध्वावित्यर्थः । Ratnagarbha comments to the same effect.

¶ And it is told briefly by both the commentators on the *Vishnu-purāṇa*.

illuminous Krishná * engaged in thought, † resting his foot upon his knee. Then came there a hunter, named Jará, ‡ whose bow was tipped with a blade made of the piece of wood of the club, which had not been reduced to powder; and, beholding, from a distance, the foot of Krishná, he mistook it for part of a deer, and, shooting his arrow, lodged it in the sole. § Approaching (his mark), he saw the four-armed king, and, falling at his feet, repeatedly besought his forgiveness, exclaiming: "I have done this deed unwittingly, thinking I was aiming at a deer. Have pity upon me, who am consumed by my crime! For thou art able to consume me." ¶ Bhagavat replied: "Fear

* This is an allegorical personage, however; for Jará signifies 'infirmity', 'old age', 'decay.' **

† The Bhágavata explains how this part of the foot became exposed. Krishná had assumed one of the postures in which abstraction is practised. He had laid his left leg across his right thigh, by which the sole of the foot was turned outwards.

* This name and its epithet are supplied by the Translator.

† योगयुक्तः ।

‡ Corrected from "Jará", which the original cannot yield, as a huntress would be called *lubdhaki*. The original is as follows:

आययी च जरा नाम स तदा तत्र लुब्धकः ।

Compare note ‡ in p. 143, *supra*. Also see the *Mahābhārata*, *Mausala-parvan*, §l. 126, *et seq.*

§ सुसलावशेषलीहकसायकन्यस्तोमरः ।

This compound is descriptive of लुब्धकः ।

¶ A free translation.

¶ सम्यतामात्मपपेन दग्धं मां दग्धुमर्हसि ।

Ratnagarbha begins this verse with the words सम्यतां नात्मपपेन ।

** To this speculation it is difficult to assent. See note ‡, above.

not, thou, in the least." [§] The hunter, through the favour, to heaven, the abode of the gods." As soon as he had thus spoken, a celestial car appeared; and the hunter, ascending it, forthwith proceeded to heaven. Then the illustrious (Kṛishṇa) having united himself with his own pure, spiritual, inexhaustible, inconceivable, unborn, undecaying, imperishable,† and universal spirit, which is one with Vasudeva, abandoned his mortal body and the condition of the threefold qualities. ¹§

¹ He became Nirguṇa, 'devoid of all qualities.'

* न तेऽस्ति भयमखपि ।

† *Brahma-bhūta*.

‡ The epithet *aprameya*, 'boundless', is here omitted.

§ तत्त्वाज मानुषं देहमतीत्य त्रिविधां गतिम् ।

Thus explain both Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

Arjuna comes to Dwārakā, burns the dead, and takes away the surviving inhabitants. Commencement of the Kali age. Shepherds and thieves attack Arjuna, and carry off the women and wealth. Arjuna relates the loss of his prowess, to Vyāsa, who consoles him, and tells him the story of Ashvāvakra's curing the Apasmara. Arjuna and his brothers place Parikṣita on the throne, and go to the forests. End of the Fifth Book.

ARJUNA, having found the bodies of Kṛishṇa and of Rāma, performed, for them and the rest (of the slain), the obsequial rites.* The eight queens of Kṛishṇa, who have been named,† with Rukmiṇī at their head,‡ embraced the body of Hari, and entered the (funeral) fire.¹ Revatī, also, embracing the corpse of Rāma, entered the blazing pile, which was cool to her, happy in contact with her lord.§ Hearing these events, Ugrasena and Anakadundubhi, with Devakī and Rohiṇī, committed themselves to the flames.² The

¹ The Mahābhārata takes the wives of Kṛishṇa, first, to Indra-prastha; and there Rukmiṇī and four others burn. But Satya-bhāmā and others become ascetics, going to perform Tapasya in the forest.

² It is merely said, in the Mahābhārata, that Vasudeva expired; on which, four of his wives burnt themselves.

* "Obsequial rites" is to render *samskāra*.

† *Vide supra*, pp. 78, *et seq.*, and p. 107.

‡ रुक्मिणीप्रमुखाः, "Rukmiṇī and the rest."

§ विवेश ज्वलितं वह्निं तत्संगाद्वादशीतकम् ।

last ceremonies* were performed, for all these, Balarjuna, who, then, made all the people leave the city, and took Vajra with him. The son of Kuntī† consoled the thousands of the wives of Kṛishṇa, with Vajra and all the people, from Dwāraká, with tenderness and care, and travelled slowly away. The Sudharmanś palace and the Párijáta-tree, which had been brought to earth by Kṛishṇa, both proceeded to heaven; and, on the same day that Hari departed from the earth, the powerful dark-bodied Kali (age) descended.¹ The ocean (rose and) submerged the whole of Dwāraká, except alone the dwelling of the deity of the race of Yádu.¶ The sea has not yet been able to wash that (temple) away; and there Keśava constantly abides, (even in the present day). Whoever visits that holy shrine—the place where Kṛishṇa pursued his sports,— is liberated from all his sins.^{2**}

¹ The Kali age commenced from the death of Kṛishṇa, according to the usual notions; but it is commonly supposed to commence a little later, or with the reign of Parikshit. ††

² The Bhágavata agrees with the text, in excepting the temple of Dwāraká, and asserting that it still remains, in direct contradiction of the Mahábhārata, which declares, that the sea did not spare any part whatever. It is clear, therefore, that, when the latter was compiled, the temple was not standing, and that it was

* *Preta-kárya*.

† Kaunteya. *Vide supra*, p. 150, note ¶.

‡ Dwāravati, in the Sanskrit.

§ *Vide supra*, p. 46, text and note •.

¶ *Kála-kāya*. There are three unimportant variants. Ratnagarbha notes and elucidates two of them.

¶ यदुदेवगृह, "the temple of the Yadus."

** This sentence greatly abridges the original.

†† See Vol. IV, p. 230, note •, and p. 233.

son of Prithā* (Arjuna,) halted the people (he had brought from Dwārakā) in the Panchanada country, a rich and fertile spot. But the desires of the robbers (of the neighbourhood) were excited, when they observed so many widowed females,—also, such great riches,—in the possession of Arjuna* alone.†

erected between the date of the compilation and that of the two Purāṇas. The present temple, which is held in great repute, stands at the extremity of the peninsula of Gujerat. It is still an object of pilgrimage. It was so in the reign of Akbar (Ayeen Akbaree); and has been so, no doubt, from a remote period. The image formerly worshipped there was carried off 600 years ago; and this was, most probably, subsequent to the date of both the Purāṇas: for the idol was a form of Kṛishṇa, called Rāñā-chhoṛ,—a popular divinity, unknown in the Paurāṇik pantheon. Another image was substituted in place of that which was taken away. Notwithstanding the testimony of our text, and that of the Bhagavata, the originality of the temple is disputed; and a place thirty miles south from Poorbundur is said to be the spot where Dwārakā was swallowed up by the ocean. Hamilton (from Macmurdo, &c.), Vol. I., p. 662.

* “The country of the five rivers,”; the Punjab:—rather an out-of-the-way route from Dwārakā to Dehli.

* Pārtha, in the original. See Vol. IV, pp. 101, 102.

† ततो लोभः समभवद्द्यूनां निहतेश्वराः ।

दृष्ट्वा स्त्रियो नीयमानाः पार्थैर्निकेन धन्विना ॥

Ratnagarbha reads as follows:

ततो लोभः समभवत्पार्थैर्निकेन धन्विना ।

दृष्ट्वा स्त्रियो नीयमाना द्यूनां निहतेश्वराः ॥

And herewith agree my Ajmere and Arrah MSS.

In no MS do I find, in lieu of धन्विना, धनिना, which might suggest Professor Wilson's “such great riches.”

; The original is पञ्चनदे देशे. Most probably the tirtha called Panchanada is intended; for which see the Mahābhārata, Vana-parvan, §§. 5025, 5086; and elsewhere.

Inflamed by their cupidity, they assembled the villainous Ábhíras,^{1*} and said to them: "Here is the Arjuna, immensely rich,† and having numerous women, whose husbands have been slain—passing confidently amongst us; a disgrace to all brahmen.‡ His pride is raised by the death of Bhíshma, Droṇa, Jayadratha, Karna, and others (whom he has slain). He does not know the prowess of (simple) villagers. Up! up! Take your long thick staves.§ This stupid fellow despises us. Why should we not lift up our arms?" So saying, they rushed, armed with cudgels and clods of earth,

¹ Ábhíras mean 'herds'; ¶ and they are, afterwards, called, by Arjuna, Gopálas, 'herdsmen.' The pastoral tribes of the west of India, and, particularly, those of Afghanistan, almost always combine the character of freebooter with that of shepherd.

ततस्ते पापकर्माणो लोभोपहतचेतसः ।
आभीरा मन्त्रयामासुः समेत्याद्यन्तदुर्मदाः ॥

† I find, everywhere, धन्वी, 'archer.' See note ‡ in the preceding page.

‡ अयमेकोऽर्जुनो धन्वी स्त्रीजनं निहतेश्वरम् ।
नयत्यस्यानतिक्रम्य धिगितद्भवतां बलम् ॥

Instead of भवतां, क्रियतां is preferred by Ratnagarbha, according to my oldest copy of his commentary. And so reads my Arrah MS.

My Ajmere MS. gives, in the place of the verse beginning as above, a whole stanza, and one of very different import

§ हे हे यष्टीर्महायामा गृह्णीत । Ratnagarbha has महामाया ।

Nothing to yield "clods of earth" is read in the text as alone I find it:

ततो यष्टिप्रहरणा दस्यवो लोभप्रहारिणः ।
सहस्रशोऽभ्यधावन्त तं जनं निहतेश्वरम् ॥

Sridhara and Ratnagarbha: यष्टिप्रहरणाः । दण्डायुधाः । लोभप्रहारिणः । परस्वयाहिणः । Professor Wilson must have supposed that the reading was लोभप्रहारिणः ।

¶ I know no authority for this meaning. For the Ábhíras, see Vol. II., p. 168, notes 4, etc.; p. 185, notes 2, etc.

upon the people, who were without their lord.* Arjuna encountered them, and said to them, in derision, "Retire, wretches, ignorant of what is right, unless ye are desirous of being slain." But they disregarded his messages, and seized his treasures, and his women, the wives of Vīrāṭa and others. Thereupon, Arjuna began to brand his heavenly bow, Gāṇḍīva, irresistible§ in battle. But it was in vain; for, in spite of all his efforts to tighten it, it continued flaccid. Neither could he call to recollection the incantations of the superhuman weapons.† Losing all patience, he launched, as best he might, his shafts upon the enemy; but those shot from Gāṇḍīva merely scratched the skin. The arrows given him, by Agni,‡ to carry certain destruction,** now were themselves destroyed, and were fatal to Arjuna, in his contest with herdsmen. He endeavoured to recall the might of Kṛishṇa, — animated by which, his numerous arrows had overthrown mighty kings; but he tried in vain: for, now, they were put aside by the peasants;†† or they flew at random, wide of their aim.‡‡ His arrows being expended, he§§ beat the ban-

* The widows above spoken of are intended.

† Kaunteya, in the Sanskrit. *Vide supra*, p. 150, note ¶

‡ निवृत्तः implying that Arjuna desisted from encountering the Ābhiras
§ *Ajara*.

|| न सस्मर तथास्त्राणि चिन्तयन्नपि पाण्डवः ।

¶ In the original, Vahnī.

** The epithet thus rendered is 'akshaya', 'indestructible.'

†† *Ābhira*.

‡‡ अचिन्तयन्न कौन्तेयः कृष्णस्त्रीषु हि तद्वलम् ।

यन्मया शरसंचातिः सकला भूभुजो जिताः ॥

मिषतः पाण्डुपुत्रस्तु ततस्तथाः प्रमदीक्ष्मताः ।

आभीरैरपकृष्यन्ते कामाक्ष्यान्वाः प्रवव्रजुः ।

§§ Here Arjuna is called Dhananjaya, in the original.

ditti with the horn of his bow, but they only laughed at his blows; and the barbarians,* in the sight of Arjuna,† carried off all the women of the Vrish and Andhaka tribes; and went their way.¹

Then Jishnu: was sorely distressed, and lamented bitterly, exclaiming: "Alas! alas! I am deserted by my lord!" And he wept; and, in that instant, the bow and (heavenly) arms, his car and steeds, perished entirely, like a donation to an unlearned Brahman. § "Resistless," said he, "are the decrees of fate, by whom feebleness has been inflicted upon me,—deprived of my illustrious friend,—and victory given to the base. These two arms are mine; mine is this fist; this is my place; ¶ I am Arjuna: but, without that righteous aid, all these are pithless. The valour of Arjuna,** the strength of Bhīma, †† was, all, his work; and, without him, I am overcome by peasants:‡‡ it cannot be from any other

¹ The principal wives of Kṛishṇa, however, according to the Mahābhārata, escaped. The occurrence is described, there, much in the same way, but more briefly. It is not detailed in the Bhāgavata.

* *Mlechchha*.

† Pārtha, in the Sanskrit.

‡ Still another name of Arjuna. *Vide supra*, p. 156, note •.

§ दानमश्रोत्रिये यथा ।

अद्यऽतिबलवद्दिवं विना तेन महात्मना ।

यदसामर्थ्ययुक्तेऽपि नीचवर्गे अयमदम् ॥

¶ स्थानं तत् । His position as an archer, says Ratnagarbha: धानु-
ज्जसंस्थानविशेषः ।

** To render *Arjunatwa*.

†† भीमस्य भीमत्वम् ।

‡‡ *Ābhira*.

So saying, Arjuna* went to the city of Mathura† and there installed the Yádava prince, Vajra, as king. There he beheld Vyása, who was living in a wood; and he approached the sage,§ and saluted him respectfully. The Muni surveyed him for some time, he lay prostrate at his feet, and said to him: "How is it that I see you thus shorn of your lustre?¶ Have you been guilty of illicit intercourse with women?*** Or of the death of a Brahman? Or have you suffered some grievous disappointment, that you are so dejected?†† Have your prayers for progeny, or other good gifts, proved fruitless? Or have you indulged improper passions, that your lustre is so dim?‡ Or are you one that devours the meal he has given to the Brahmanas? Say, Arjuna, have you seized upon the substance of the poor? Has the wind of a winnowing-basket lighted upon you? Or has an evil eye gazed upon you, Arjuna, that you look thus miserable?§§

* Jishnu, in the original. This is one of the many names or epithetical designations of Arjuna.

† Sridhara and Ratnagarbha notice a variant expressing that Arjuna went from Indraprastha to Hastinápura. My Ajmere and Arrah MSS simply substitute Indraprastha for Mathura.

‡ The Sanskrit has Phalguna.

§ Mahābhāga.

¶ Pārtha is the word here used.

¶ विच्छायः कथमत्यन्तमीदृशः ।

** This sentence is to render अवीरजोऽनुगमनम् । Both Sridhara and Ratnagarbha dwell at length on the first of these words and its variant अवीरजा ।

†† अदृच्छायः ।

‡ सान्त्वानिकादथो वा ते याचमाना निराकृताः ।

अगम्यस्त्रीरतिर्वा त्वं तेनासि विगतप्रभः ॥

§§ विच्छायः ।

Have you been touched by the water of a finger? Or has the water of a water-jar sprinkled you? what is, most probably, the case, have you been beaten by your inferiors in battle?"*

Arjuna,† having sighed deeply, related to V.‡ all the circumstances of his discomfiture, and continued: "Hari, who was our strength, our might, our bism, our prowess, our prosperity, our brightness, has left us, and departed. Deprived of him, our friend, illustrious, and ever kindly speaking, we have become as feeble as if made of straw.: Purushottama, who was the living§ vigour of my weapons, my arrows, and my bow, is gone. As long as we looked upon him, fortune, fame, wealth, dignity¶ never abandoned us. But Govinda is gone from amongst us. That Kṛishṇa has quitted earth, through whose power Bhīshma, Droṇa, the king of Anga,** Dur̥yodhana, and the rest were consumed. Not I alone, but Earth, has grown old, miserable,†† and lustreless, in the absence of the holder of the discus.: Kṛishṇa, through devotion to whom Bhīshma and other mighty men perished like

* The Translator has here somewhat departed from the order of the original.

† Pārtha, in the original.

: इतरेष्वेव महता स्मितपूर्वाभिभाषिणा ।

हीना वयं मुने तेन जातास्तुण्मया इव ॥

Ratnagarbha begins this stanza with गौरवेण, i. e., आदरेण, he says § *Mūrtta*.

| Substituted, by the Translator, for Gaṇḍīva.

¶ *Unnati*.

** *Anga-rāja*. Kārṇa is intended.

†† अष्टच्छाया ।

:: *Chakrin*.

V.

me in the flame of my valour, is gone: and I am,
 not overcome by cowherds.' The bow Gándīva,
 which was famed throughout the three worlds, has been
 broken since he has departed, by the sticks of peas-
 ants. The myriads of women over whom I was lord
 have been carried off from me by thieves, armed but
 with staves. The whole household: of Kṛishṇa, O
 Kṛishṇa,¹ has been (forcibly) carried away by peasants,
 who, with their staves, have put my strength to shame.
 That I am shorn of my lustre I do not marvel: it is
 wonderful that I live. Surely, grand-sire, I alone am
 so shameless as to survive the stain of indignity in-
 flicted by the vile." §

Vyāsa replied to Arjuna, and said: "Think no more,
 my son, of your disgrace. It does not become you to
 grieve. Know that time subjects all beings to similar
 vicissitude. ¶ Time effects the production and dissolu-
 tion of all creatures. All that exists is founded on time.
 Know this, Arjuna, and retain your fortitude. Rivers,
 seas, mountains, the whole earth, gods, men, animals,
 trees, insects** are, all, created, and, all, will be de-

¹ A name of Vyāsa. ††

यस्यानुभावान्नीष्माविर्मध्यपी शलभायितम् ।
 विना तेनाद्य कृष्णेन गोपालैरसि निर्जितः ॥

† Abhira.

‡ Avarodhana. Ratnagarbha explains it to mean अन्नःपुरं स्त्रीवर्गः ।

§ निःश्रीकता न मे चिच्च यज्जीवाभि तदद्भुतम् ।
 जीचापमान एकाकी निर्लज्जोऽसि पितामह ॥

The original has Pārtha.

¶ अवेहि सर्वभूतेषु कालस्य गतिमीदृशीम् ।

** Sarisṛipa; 'reptiles.' Vide supra, p. 59, note ††.

†† So the scholiasts, allege.

stroyed, by time. Knowing that all that is is the effect of time, be tranquillized.* These mighty works of Kṛishṇa, whatever they have been, have been performed to relieve earth of its burthens: for this come down. Earth, oppressed by her load, recourse to the assembly: of the immortals. Anārdana, who is one with time, has descended, that account. This object has been, now, accomplished. All the kings (of the earth) are slain; the race of Vṛishṇi and Andhaka is destroyed: no more remained for him to accomplish.† Therefore has the lord departed whither he pleased, his ends being, all, fulfilled. At the period of creation, the god of gods creates; in that of duration, he preserves: and, at the end (of all), he is mighty to annihilate.‡ Now all is done. Therefore, Arjuna,** be not afflicted by thy defeat. The prowess of mortals is the gift of time.†† Bhīshma, Droṇa, Karna, and other kings have been slain by thee alone. This was the work of time: and why, therefore, should not thy discomfiture, by those less than thou art,

* कालात्मकमिदं सर्वं ज्ञात्वा शममवाप्नुहि ।

कालात्मकम् । कालाधीनम् । Ratnagarbha.

† "Mighty works" is to render *māhātmya*.

‡ *Samiti*.

§ Add "on earth": भूमितले ।

|| *Kṛitokṛitya*, 'satisfied,' 'happy.'

¶ अन्ताय समर्थः ।

** Pārtha, in the original.

†† भवन्ति भवकालेषु पुरुषाणां पराक्रमाः ।

‡‡ I have inserted this name, to conform the translation to Śrīdhara's text, which Professor Wilson, no doubt, hereabouts follows. Ratnagarbha's reading yields Bhīshma and Droṇa, omitting Karna; and therewith my Arrah MS. harmonizes.

o...?*" In like manner as, through thy devotion to†
 U... these were overthrown by thee, so, at last, has
 defeat by miserable thieves been wrought by
 That divinity assuming various bodies, pre-
 the world; and, in the end, the lord of creatures
 it. In the birth of thy fortunes, § Janárdana
 was friend; in their decline, thy enemies have
 been favoured by Rēṣava. Who would have believed
 that thou shouldst slay all the descendants of Kuru,
 and kindred of Gangá?¶ Who would have believed
 that peasants** should triumph over thee? Be assured,
 son of Prithá,†† that it is (but) the sport of the univer-
 sal:: Hari, that the Kauravas have been destroyed by
 thee, and that thou hast been defeated by herdsmen.§§
 With respect to the women whom thou lamentest, and
 who have been carried off by the thieves, hear from
 me an ancient story¶ which will explain why this has
 happened.

"In former times, a Brahman, named Ashtāvakra,¹

¹ The story of Ashtāvakra is related in the Mahābhārata.¶¶ He
 was the son of Kahoda,*** who, neglecting his wife, was rebuked

• तेषामर्जुन कालोत्थः किं न्यूनाभिमवो न सः ।

† Read "through the might of". अनुभावेन ।

: ततस्तथैव भवतो दस्युभ्योऽन्ते तदुल्लवः ।

§ भवोल्लवे ।

भवान्ते ।

¶ To render Gāngeya.

** Abhira.

†† Pārtha is the original word.

:: Sarva-bhūta. Vide supra, p. 34, text and note ††.

§§ Abhira.

... तदप्यहं यथावृत्तं कथयामि तवावृत्तम् ।

¶¶ Ādi-parvan, śl. 10599, et seq.

*** Corrected from "Kahora".

was pursuing his religious penances, standing in water, and meditating on the eternal spirit, for many years.* In consequence of the overthrow of the Asuras, there was a great festival on the summit of Meru; on the way to which, Rambhá, Tilottamá,† and hundreds of thousands of beautiful nymphs: saw the ascetic Ashāvakra; and they praised and hymned him (for his devotions). They bowed down (before him), and eulogized him, as he was immersed) up to his throat in water, his hair twisted in a braid. So they sang, in honour of him, whatever they thought would be most agreeable to that most eminent of Brahmins. Ashāvakra (at last,) said to them: 'I am well pleased with you, illustrious damsels.‡ Whatever you wish for, ask of me, and I will give it you, however difficult it may be of attainment.' Then all those nymphs, Rambhá, Tilottamá, and others, recorded in the Vedas,¶ replied: 'It is enough for us that thou art pleased. What need we aught else, venerable Brahman?''** But some

for it by his yet unborn son. The father angrily cursed him, that he should be born bent in every part; and he was, accordingly, brought forth crooked (vakra) in eight limbs (ashṭān).†† He became, nevertheless, a celebrated sage. See, also, Hindu Theatre, Vol. I., p. 293, note.

* अष्टावक्रः पुरा विप्रो जलवासरतो ऽभवत् ।

बह्वर्षगणान्मार्थं गृणन्ब्रह्म सनातनम् ॥

† See, for them, Vol. II., p. 75, note 3.

‡ वरस्त्रियः ।

§ "Illustrious damsels" is to translate महाभागाः ।

¶ Apsaras.

¶ For Apsarases mentioned in the Vedas, see Vol. II., pp. 80, 81.

** प्रसन्ने त्वय्यपर्याप्तं किमस्माकमिति द्विज ।

†† With the name Ashāvakra compare Naikavakra and Trivakra, for which vide *supra*, p. 21, note †.

(amongst them) said: 'O exalted sir, you are (indeed) pleased with us, then grant us a husband, the best of men, and sovereign of the Brahmins.'† 'So be it,' said the Muni Ashtāvakra, and the preupon, came up from the earth. When the nymphs beheld him coming out of the earth, and saw that he was (very) ugly, and crooked in all places, they did not restrain their merriment, but laughed. The Muni was (very) angry, and cursed them, and said: 'Since you have been so impertinent as to laugh at my deformity, I denounce upon you this imprecation: through the grace I have shown unto you, you shall obtain the first of males: for your husband; but, in consequence of my curse, you shall (afterwards) fall into the hands of thieves.' When the nymphs heard this uttered by the Muni, they endeavoured to appease him: and (they so far succeeded, that) he announced to them, they should finally return to the sphere of the gods. It is in consequence, then, of the curse of the Muni Ashtāvakra, that these females, who were, at first, the wives of Keśava, have, now, fallen into the hands of the barbarians;§ and there is no occasion, Arjuna, for you to regret it in the least. All this destruction has been effected by the lord of all; and your end is, also, nigh at hand, since he has withdrawn from you strength, splendour, valour, and preeminence.¶ Death is the doom of every

* Purushottama, i. e., Vishnu or Kṛishna.

† According to all my MSS., the term here rendered "sovereign of the Brahmins" is in the vocative, and applies to Ashtāvakra.

‡ Purushottama, as above.

§ Dasyu.

|| Addressed, in the original, as Pāṇḍava.

¶ Mahātmya.

one who is born; fall is the end of exaltation; and growth tends to decay.* Knowing (all this), wise men are susceptible of neither grief nor joy; and those who learn the ways are even as they are,—(equally free from pain or pain). Do you, therefore, most excellent, understand this (truth), and, along with your brothers, relinquish everything, and repair to the holy forest. Go, now, and say, from me, to Yudhishthira,† that he, to-morrow, with his brethren, tread the path of heroes.”;

Thus instructed by Vyása, Arjuna went and related to the other sons of Príthá all that he had seen, had experienced, and had heard. § When he had communicated to them the message of Vyása, the sons of Páñdu placed Parikshit on the throne, and went to the forest.

I have thus narrated to you, Maitreya, in detail, the actions of Vásudeva, when he was born in the race of Yadu.

* आतस्य नियतं मृत्युः पतनं च तथोन्नतेः ।

विप्रयोगावसानस्य संयोगः संचयक्षयः ॥

Instead of संचयक्षयः, some MSS. give: संचयावक्षयः ।

† Denominated, in the Sanskrit, by his epithet Dharmarāja. Yama, also, is so called. See Vol. III., p. 118.

‡ परस्मै भ्रातृभिः सार्धं गतिं वीरपथा कुर्व ।

The more ordinary reading ends the verse with the words यथा चासि तथा कुर्व ।

§ इत्युक्तोऽभ्येत्य पार्थाभ्यां यमाभ्यां चाह सोऽर्जुनः ।

दृष्टं विवानुमूतं च कथितं तद्विशेषतः ॥

By the two Páthas here spoken of, Yudhishthira and Bhíma are intended, in the opinion of Ratnagarbha.

The words च सहार्जुनः end the first verse, according to some MSS.

VISHŪ PURĀŅĀ.

BOOK VI.

CHAPTER I.

Of the dissolution of the world: the four ages: the decline of all things, and deterioration of mankind, in the Kali age.

MAITREYA.—You have narrated to me, illustrious sage, the creation (of the world), the genealogies (of the patriarchs), the duration* of the Manwantaras, and the dynasties† (of princes), in detail. I am now desirous to hear from you (an account of) the dissolution of the world, the season of total destruction, and that which occurs at the expiration of a Kalpa.¹

PARĀŚARA.—Hear from me, Maitreya, exactly (the circumstances of) the end of all things,‡ and the disso-

¹ Two kinds of great or universal dissolution are here intimated; one occurring at the end of a Kalpa, or day of Brahmā, to which the term Upasamhṛiti is applied in the text, and Ātyantika-laya by the commentator;§ and the other taking place at the end of the life of Brahmā, which is termed a great or elemental dissolution: Mahā-pralaya and Prākṛita-pralaya.

* *Sthiti.*

† *Vamśanucharita.*

‡ *Upasamhṛiti.*

§ *Ratnagarbha.*

lute that occurs either at the expiration of a Kalpa, or at which takes place at the close of the life of Brahmá.* A month (of mortals) is a day and night of the genitors; a year (of mortals) is a day and night of the gods. Twice a thousand aggregates of the four ages are a day and night of Brahmá.¹† The four ages are Satya, Tréta, Lawapara, and Kali; comprehending, together, twelve thousand years of the gods. There are infinite successions of these four ages, of a similar description, the first of which is (always) called the Kṛita, and the last, the Kali. In the first, the Kṛita, is that age which is created by Brahmá; in the last, which is the Kali age, a dissolution of the world occurs.

MAITREYA.—Venerable sir, you are able to give me a description of (the nature of) the Kali age, in which four-footed virtue² suffers total extinction.

¹ These measures of time are more fully detailed in the First Book. See Vol. I., pp. 46, *et seq.*

² This is an allusion to a popular notion, originating, probably, with Manu: "In the Kṛita age, the *Genius of truth and right* stands firm on his four feet; but, in the

* "At the close of the life of Brahmá" is to translate प्राकृते ।

† चतुर्युगसहस्रे तु ब्रह्मणो वै द्विजोत्तम ।

: *Adesha.*

§ Read "creation". Professor Wilson here went wrong from following his favourite MS., which, from the fault of the copyist, begins the verse with आद्ये कृतयुगे ब्रह्मणा । See the next note. Besides, *yuga*, in the sense of 'age', is neuter.

आद्ये कृतयुगे सर्वो ब्रह्मणा क्रियते यतः ।

क्रियते चोपसंहारस्तथान्ये च कलौ युगे ॥

BOOK VI., CHAP. I.

PARÁSARA.—Hear, Maitreya, an account (of the nature) of the Kali age, respecting which you have inquired, and which is now close at hand.

The observance of caste, order, and institutions will not prevail in the Kali age: * nor will that of the ceremonial enjoined by the Sama-, Rig-, and Yajur-Vedas; Marriages, in this age, will not be conformable to the ritual;† nor will the rules that connect the spiritual preceptor and his disciple be in force. The laws that regulate the conduct of husband and wife will be disregarded; and oblations to the gods with fire no longer be offered. In whatever family he may be born, a powerful and rich man will be held entitled to espouse maidens of every tribe. A regenerate man will be initiated in any way whatever: and such acts of penance as may be performed will be unattended by any results.‡ Every text will be scripture, that people

following ages, * * * * he is deprived, successively, of one foot," &c. § I., 81, 82.

‘ “Such an act is just what it is:” या सेव प्रायश्चित्तक्रिया कलौ । ¶ That is, it may be attended by inconvenience to the individual, but is utterly inefficacious for the expiation of sin.

• वर्णाश्रमाचारवती प्रवृत्तिर्न कलौ नृणाम् ।

† *Dharmya.*

; धेव सेव च निषेध प्रायश्चित्तक्रिया कलौ ।

§ From Sir William Jones's Translation.

चतुष्पात्सकलोऽधर्मः सत्यं चैव कृते युगे ।

नाधर्मेणागमः कश्चिन्ननुष्ठानप्रतिवर्तते ॥

इतरेष्वागमाद्धर्मः पादशस्त्ववरोपितः ।

चौरिकानृतमायाभिर्धर्मोऽप्यपि पादशः ॥

¶ This was suggested by the comment of Śridhara, who understands penance to be spoken of which is performed simply for popular applause.

choose to think so; all things will be gods to them that worship them; and all orders of life will be common alike to all persons. In the Kali age, fasting, austerities, liberality, practice according to the pleasure of the gods, from whom they are observed, will constitute the religion. (Pride of wealth) will be inspired by very insignificant possessions. Pride of beauty: will be prompted by (no other personal charm than fine) hair. Gold, jewels, diamonds, § clothes, will, all, have perished: and then hair will be the only ornament with which women can decorate themselves. Wives will desert their husbands, when they lose their property: and they only who are wealthy will be considered, by women, as their lords. He who gives away much (money) will be the master of men: and family descent

† Whether it is conformable or contradictory to the Vedas and the law. The passage ¶ may be rendered, also: "The doctrine or dogma of any one soever will be scripture."

and not to wipe away sin. His words are **यैव सेवेति । प्रायश्चित्तक्रिया लोकरत्नमभ्यर्था न तु पापचर्यार्था ।** Ratnagarbha says: **यैव सेव । अनियतेत्यर्थः ।**

• **देवतासु कलौ सर्वाः ।** This rather implies, that unaccredited gods will receive honour. Ratnagarbha says: **येन तेन कल्पिताः सर्वा देवताः ।**

† *Āyāsa*. Ratnagarbha explains it by penance, or pilgrimage: **आयासः । जप्तादिः । तीर्थयात्रादिर्वा ।**

‡ In women. The verse runs:

स्त्रीणां रूपमदृष्ट्वैव केशिरेव भविष्यति ।

§ *Ratna*.

• **कलौ स्त्रियो भविष्यन्ति तदा केशिरत्नकृताः ।**

¶ **सर्वमेव कलौ शास्त्रं यस्य यद्वचनं द्विव ।**

will no longer be a title of supremacy.* Accumulated treasures will be expended on (ostentatious) displays. The minds of men will be wholly occupied in acquiring wealth; and wealth will be spent solely on self-indulgences.† Women will follow their inclinations, and be ever fond of pleasure. Men will fix their eyes upon riches, even though dishonestly acquired. No man will part with the smallest fraction of the smallest coin,¹ though entreated by a friend. Men of all degrees will conceit themselves to be equal with Brahmans. Cows will be held in esteem, only as they supply milk.² The people will be, almost always, in dread of dearth, and apprehensive of scarcity; and will, hence, ever be watching (the appearances of) the sky: they will, all, live, like anchorites, § upon leaves, and roots, and fruit; and put a period to their lives, through fear of famine and want. In truth, there will never be abun-

¹ He will not part with the half of the half of half a Paña,—that is, with ten Cowries: a Paña being equal to eighty Cowries (or small shells). ¶ Five Pañas are equal to one Anna, or the sixteenth of a Rupee; and, at two shillings the Rupee, ten Cowries are equal to about one-seventh of a farthing.

² They will be valued for their individual use only, not from any notion of their generic sanctity.

* स्वामित्वहेतुः संबन्धो भावी नाभिजनस्तदा ।

† गृहान्ता द्रव्यसंघाता द्रव्यान्ता च तथा मतिः ।

अथैश्वर्यापेक्षीयान्ता भविष्यन्ति कलौ युगे ॥

Much that follows this is, likewise, freely rendered.

‡ *Ksudh*, 'hunger,' 'famine.'

§ *Tāpasa*, 'ascetics.'

अवृथादिदुःखिताः ।

¶ See Colebrooke's *Algebra*, &c., p. 1.

daśa, in the Kali age, and men will never enjoy pleasure and happiness.* They will take their food without previous ablution, and without worshipping fire, or their guests, or offering† obsequial libations to their ancestors. The women will be fickle,; short-tempered, and gluttonous. They will have many children, and by all means. Scratching their heads with both hands, they will pay no attention to the commands of their husbands or parents. They will be selfish, abject, and slatternly; they will be scolds and liars; they will be indecent and immoral in their conduct, and will ever attach themselves to dissolute men. Youths, although disregarding the rules of studentship, will study the Vedas. Householders will neither sacrifice nor practise becoming liberality. Anchorets§ will subsist upon food accepted from rustics; and mendicants will be influenced by regard for friends and associates.† Princes, instead of protecting, will plunder, their subjects, and, under the pretext of levying customs, will

* The Bhāgavata has: "Religious students will be regardless of vows and purification; householders will beg, not give alms, anchorets will dwell in villages; and mendicants will be desirous of riches."

* दुर्भिक्षमेव सततं तदा क्लेशमनीश्वराः ।

प्राप्स्यन्ति व्याहतमुखप्रमोदा मानवाः कलौ ॥

† Read "and they will not offer", &c.

‡ *Lolupa*, 'covetous'.

§ *Vanavāsa*, 'hermits.' *Vānaprasthas* are meant; for whose duties see Vol. III., pp. 94—97.

XII., III., 33:

अव्रता वटवोऽशीवा भिक्षवश्च कुटुम्बिनः ।

तपस्विनो यामवासा व्यासिनो ह्यक्षलोत्तपाः ॥

rob merchants of their property. In the Kali age, every one who has cars, and elephants, and steeds will be a Raja;¹ every one who is feeble will be a slave. Kshatriyas will abandon agriculture and commerce, and get a livelihood by servitude,† or the exercise of mechanical arts.‡ Śūdras, seeking a subsistence by mendicancy, and assuming the outward marks of religion, will become the impure followers of impious and heretical doctrines.² §

Oppressed by famine and taxation, men will desert their native lands, and go to those countries which are fit for coarser grains.³ The path of the Vedas being

¹ That is, princes and warriors will be so no longer by virtue of their birth and caste.

² Most of the mendicant orders admit members without distinction of caste; but, probably, Buddhists, especially, are here intended. The Bhāgavata repeatedly alludes to the diffusion of heretical doctrines and practices, the substitution of outward signs and marks for devotion, and the abandonment of the worship of Vishnu. The Śaiva mendicant orders are, probably, those especially in view. The same, probably, are intended, by our text, in the subsequent allusion to unauthorized austerities and sectarial marks.

³ "Gavedhuka (Coix barbata) and other bad sorts of grain:" गवेधुककदन्नाद्यान्देशान् । Another reading is गोधूमात्तयवात्ताद्यान्देशान् । ¶ "Countries growing wheat, barley, and the like." But to place wheat and barley amongst inferior grains, and to

* *Bhṛtya*, 'servant.'

† *Śūdra-śrīti*.

‡ *Kāru-karman*.

§ भिक्षुव्रतासुखा गृह्याः प्रव्रज्यालिङ्गिनोऽधमाः ।

पाषण्डसंश्रयां वृत्तिमात्रयिष्यस्वसंस्तुताः ॥

For *gavedhuka*, the same grain, see Vol. I., p. 95.

¶ This is Ratnagarbha's reading.

degenerated,* and men having deviated into heresy, impiety, will flourish, and the duration of life will (therefore) decrease. In consequence of horrible penances, enjoined by sages, and of the vices of the rulers, men will die in early infancy. Women will bear children at the age of five, six, or seven years; and men will die when they are eight, nine, or ten. A man will be grey, when he is twelve; and no one will exceed twenty years of life.¹ Men will possess little sense, vigour, or virtue, and will, therefore, perish in a very brief period. In proportion as heresy extends, so, Maitreya, shall the progress of the Kali age be estimated by the wise. In proportion as the number of the pious who adhere to the lessons of the Vedas diminishes, as the efforts of individuals who cultivate virtue relax, as the first of males becomes no longer the object of sacrifices,* as respect for the teachers of the Vedas declines, and as regard is acknowledged for the disseminators of heresy, so may wise men note the augmented influence of the Kali age.^{2†}

rank them lower than rice, is a classification that could have occurred to a native of Bengal alone.

¹ The Vāyu says three and twenty; the Bhāgavata,‡ from twenty to thirty.

² The complaints of the prevalence of heterodox doctrines, and neglect of the practices of the Vedas, which recur in the

* यदा यदा न यज्ञागामीश्वरः पुरुषोत्तमः ।
 रज्यते पुरुषैर्यज्ञैस्तदा ज्ञेयं कलेश्वरम् ॥
 † न प्रीतिर्वेदवादिषु पाषण्डिषु यदा वशिः ।
 कलिबृद्धिस्तदा प्राक्षिरगुमेया द्विजोत्तम ॥

; XII., II., 11.

BOOK VI., CHAP. I.

In the Kali age, Maitreya, men, corrupted by the
 lievers, will refrain from adoring Vishnu, the
 sacrifice,* the creator and lord of all, and will
 "Of what authority are the Vedas? What are the
 Brahmins? What need is there of purification
 water?"† Then will the clouds yield scanty
 will the corn be light in ear; and the grain will be
 (poor and) of little sap. Garments will be, mostly,
 made of the fibres of the *San*;‡ the principal of trees
 will be the *Samī*;§ the prevailing caste will be the *Sū-*
dra. Millet will be the more common grain; the milk
 in use will be, chiefly, that of goats; unguents will be
 made of *Uśīra*-grass.¶ The mother- and father-in-law
 will be venerated in place of parents; and a man's
 friends will be his brother-in-law, or one who has a

Bhāgavata and our text, indicate a period of change in the con-
 dition of the Hindu religion, which it would be important to
 verify. If reference is made to Buddhism,—to which, in some
 respects, the allusions especially apply,—it would, probably, denote
 a period not long subsequent to the Christian era; but it is more
 likely to be of a later date, or in the eighth and ninth centuries,
 when *Śāṅkara*|| is said to have reformed a variety of corrupt
 practices, and given rise to others. See *Asiatic Researches*, Vol.
 XVI., p. 12. ¶

¹ *Crotalaria juncea*.

² The silk cotton, *Bombax heptaphyllum*. **

* *Fajnapati*. Variant: *jagatpati*.

† किं वेदे: किं द्विदेवे: किं शीवेनाम्बुजन्मना ।

‡ *Samī*. The word also means 'mere rags'.

§ *Andropogon muricatum*.

¶ See Vol. I, Preface, p. XVI.

¶ Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 14, 15.

** This is the *salmali*. Read acacia suma.

wife. Men will say: "Who has a father? Who has a mother? Each one is born according to his own karma. And, therefore, they will look upon a wife's parents as their own. : Endowed with such qualities, men, subject to all the infirmities of mind, and body, will daily commit sins; and everything that is calculated to afflict beings, vicious, impure, and wretched, will be generated in the Kali age. Then shall some places follow a separate duty,'§ devoid

The expression Kwachil lokah (क्वचिल्लोकः), 'a certain place,' is explained, by the commentator, 'Kikāṭa, &c.' (कीकटादीः); confirming the inference that Buddhism is especially aimed at in the previous passages; for Kikāṭa, or South Behar, is the scene of Śākya's earliest and most successful labours.

* Hāri, 'handsome.'

† यदा कर्मात्मकः पुमान् ।

‡ अशुरानुगता मराः । "This is the whole that the English is intended to translate.

§ तदा प्रविरलो विप्र क्वचिल्लोको निवत्सति ।

So it is explained by both Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha.

¶ The Kikāṭas are spoken of in the *Rigveda*, III., LIII., 14. In the third volume of his Translation, Introduction, p. XX., Professor Wilson speculates on their locality: and, again, in p. 86, note 4, commenting on the passage adverted to, as follows: "The Kikāṭas are said, by Śāyana, following Yāska, *Nirukta*, VI., 32,—to be countries inhabited by *anāryas*, people who do not perform worship, who are infidels, *nāstikas*. Kikāṭa is usually identified with South Behar; showing, apparently, that Vaidik Hinduism had not reached the province, when this was said. Or, as Kikāṭa was the fountain-head of Buddhism, it might be asserted that the Buddhists were here alluded to, if it were not wholly incompatible with the received notions of the earlier date of the Vedas."

Père Vivien de Saint-Martin, in his *Étude sur la Géographie, &c.*, p. 138--144, is very full, if not conclusive, on the country of the Kikāṭas. It is by no means improbable that this name was borne by two peoples, sundered by a very considerable interval of space, and belonging to different periods. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, I., III., 24, it is said that Buddha, son of Anjana, will be born among the Kikāṭas.

BOOK VI., CHAP. I.

of holy study, oblations to fire,* and invocation of the gods.¹† Then, in the Kali age, shall a man achieve, by a trifling exertion, as much eminence in virtue as is the result of arduous penance in the Kṛita age of purity).²

¹ Several of the Purāṇas contain allusions to the degeneracy of the Kali age; but none afford more copious details. The description in the Bhāgavata is much shorter than that of the Vāyu is much the same, and employs many of the same verses and illustrations.

² This might be suspected of being said ironically, referring to what had been just observed of places where a religion prevailed that required neither study nor sacrifice. The commentator, however, understands it literally, and asserts, that allusion is here made to the Vaishṇava faith, in which devotion to Viṣṇu or Kṛishṇa, and the mere repetition of his name, are equally efficacious, in the Kali age, with the penances and sacrifices of the preceding ages. Therefore, he concludes, the Kali, by this one property, is the best of all the ages: अनेकेन गुणेन कलिः सर्वश्रेष्ठ इत्यर्थः । This interpretation is confirmed by the following Chapter.

* *Vashatkāra*. See Vol. II., p. 29, notes 3 and §.

† *Swadhā* and *svādhā*. See Vol. III., p. 122, note †, *ad finem*

‡ Both the commentators give this explanation

CHAPTER II.

properties of the Kali age. Devotion to Vishnu sufficient for salvation in that age, for all castes and persons.

On this subject, Maitreya, you shall hear what the Veda Vyasa has related, as it is communicated truly by me.

It was, once, a matter of dispute, amongst the sages, at what season the least moral merit obtained the greatest reward; and by whom it was most easily displayed. In order to terminate the discussion, they went to Veda Vyasa, to remove their doubts.* They found the illustrious Muni, my son, half immersed in the water of the Ganges;† and, awaiting the close of his ablutions, the sages remained on the banks of the sacred stream, under shelter of a grove of trees. As my son plunged down into the water, and again rose up from it, the Munis heard him exclaim: "Excellent, excellent is the Kali age!" Again he dived, and, again rising, said, in their hearing: "Well done, well done, Śúdra! Thou art happy." Again he sank down; and, as he once more emerged, they heard him say: "Well done, well done, women! They are happy. Who are more fortunate than they?" After this, my son finished his bathing; and the sages met him, as he approached to welcome them. After he had given them seats, and

संदेहनिर्णयार्थाय वेदव्यासं महामुनिम् ।
ययुस्ते संशयं प्रष्टुं भवेय मुनिपुङ्गवाः ॥

† Jābnavi, in the original.

‡ 'Great', according to the Sanskrit.

Being thus addressed by the Munis, Vyása smiled, and said to them: "Hear, excellent sages, why I uttered the words 'Well done! Well done!' The fruit of penance, of continence,† of silent prayer, and the like, practised, in the Kṛita age, for ten years, in the Tretá, for one year, in the Dwápara, for a month, is obtained, in the Kali age, in a day and night. Therefore did I exclaim: 'Excellent, excellent is the Kali age.' That reward which a man obtains, in the Kṛita, by abstract meditation, in the Tretá, by sacrifice, in the Dwápara, by adoration, he receives, in the Kali, by merely reciting the name of Keśava. In the Kali age, a man displays the most exalted virtue by (very) little exertion: therefore, (pious sages,) who know what virtue is, I was pleased with the Kali age. Formerly, the Vedas were to be acquired, by the twice-born, through the diligent observance of self-denial;‡ and it was their duty to celebrate sacrifices conformably to the ritual.

† *Vratacharya*.

"then idle prayers," idle feasts, and fruitless ceremonies were practised but to mislead the twice-born; for, although observed, by them, devoutly, yet, in consequence of some irregularity in their celebration, sin entered in all their works: and what they ate or drank did not effect the fulfilment of their desires. In all their objects the twice-born enjoyed no independence; and they attained their respective spheres only with increasing pain. The Śúdra, (on the contrary,) more intimate than they, reaches his assigned station by rendering them service, and performing merely the sacrifice of preparing food, † in which § no rules determine what may or may not be eaten, what may or may not be drunk. Therefore, most excellent sages, is the Śúdra fortunate.

"Riches are accumulated, by men, in modes not incompatible with their peculiar duties: and they are then to be bestowed upon the worthy, and expended in constant sacrifice. There is great trouble in their acquisition; great care, in their preservation; great distress, from the want of them; ¶ and great grief, for

* *Kathá*. "Praise of Kṛishná", the commentators say.

† A free rendering.

‡ पाकयज्ञाधिकारवान् । This implies "possessing the privilege of domestic sacrifices." For the *pákayajnas*, which have nothing to do with ordinary cookery, see Vol. III., p., 114, notes ‡ and §.

§ This has not the connexion with what precedes that the Translator supposed. For "in which", read "and for him", or the like,—to render freely.

¶ *Muni-kárdúla*.

¶ It is, rather, implied, that there is difficulty in the proper application of them:

तथा सद्दिनियोगाय विज्ञेयं गहनं नृणाम् ।

their loss.* Thus, eminent Brahmans, through these and other sources of anxiety, men attain their allotted spheres of Prajapati† and the rest (only by exerting labour and suffering). (This is not the case with women.) A woman has only to honour her husband in act, thought, and speech, to reach the sphere to which he is elevated; and she thus, accomplishes her object without any great exertion. This was the purport of my exclamation 'Well done!' the third time. I have, thus, related to you (what you asked). Now demand the question you came to put to me, in any way you please; and I will make you a distinct reply."

The Munis then said (to Vyása): "The question we intended to have asked you has been already answered, by you, in your reply to our subsequent inquiry." On hearing which, Kṛishṇa Dwaipáyana laughed, and said to the holy persons: who had come to see him, whose eyes were wide open with astonishment: "I perceived, with the eye (of) divine (knowledge), the question you intended to ask; and, in allusion to it, I uttered the expressions 'Well done! Well done!' In truth, in the Kali age, duty is discharged with very little trouble§ by mortals whose faults are, all, washed away by the water of their individual merits: by Śúdras, through diligent attendance (only) upon the twice-born: and by women, through the slight effort of obedience to their husbands. Therefore, Brahmans, did I thrice ex-

* I find no Sanskrit for this clause.

† In the original, Prájápatya. For this heaven, see Vol. I., p. 98, notes 1 and ..

‡ Tápasa.

§ Some MSS. yield 'time'.

press my admiration of their happiness; for, in the Kali and other ages, great were the toils of the regenerate to perform their duty. I waited not for your inquiry, but replied, at once, to the question you purposely put. Now, ye who know what virtue is, what you wish me to tell you?"

Ushas then saluted and praised Vyāsa, and, being freed, by him, from uncertainty, departed as they came. To you also, excellent (Maitreya), have I imparted this secret,—this one great virtue of the (otherwise) vicious Kali age.* The dissolution† of the world, and the aggregation of the elements,; I will now describe to you.¹

¹ The illustration of the efficacy of devotion to Vishnu, given in this Chapter, is peculiar to this Purāna; but the doctrine is common to it and the Bhāgavata. It is repeatedly inculcated in that work. The parallel passage, in the Twelfth Book, § is the following: "Purushottama, abiding in the hearts of men, takes

* Śrīdhara seems to recognize the following verse, disregarded by the Translator:

कीर्त्तनादेव छण्यस्य मुक्तबन्धः परं व्रजेत् ।

This verse is identical with one near the end of the passage cited, from the *Bhāgavata-purāna*, in note §, below.

† *Upasamhṛiti*.

: प्राकृतामन्तरालाम् । Śrīdhara: अन्तरालाम् । ब्रह्मणो दिने दिने भवाम् । Ratnagarbha: अन्तरालाम् । दिनदिनीम् ।

§ Chapter III., 45—52:

पुंसां कलिकृतान्दोषान्द्रव्यदेशात्मसंभवान् ।
सर्वान्हरति चित्तस्थो भगवान्पुण्योत्तमः ॥
श्रुतः संकीर्त्तितो ध्यातः पूजितश्चाकृतोऽपि वा ।
नृणां धुनोति भगवान्दृष्टो जन्मायुताशुभम् ॥
यथा हेमि स्थितो वह्निर्दुर्वर्णं हन्ति धातुजम् ।
एवमात्मगतो विष्णुर्योगिनामशुभाशयम् ॥

BOOK VI., CHAP. II.

away all the sins of the Kali age, produced by place or property, Bhagavat, abiding in the heart, and heard, repeated, and of, worshipped, or honoured, dissipates the ills of men for a thousand births. As fire, entering into the substance of gold, separates it from the alloy with which it is debased in the mine, and united with the devotee, is the refiner from all that is impure, so learning, penance, suppression of breath, friendship, &c., ablution, mortification, gifts, prayer, the soul attains that exceeding purity which it derives from the presence of Vishnu. Therefore, with all your soul, O king, hold Vishnu ever present in your heart. Let one about to die be most careful in this, for so he goes to supreme felicity. Let the name of the supreme god, Vishnu, be repeated, diligently, by all, in their last moments; for he who desires liberation shall attain it by the frequent repetition of the name of Kṛishṇa. Final felicity is derived, in the Kṛita age, from holy study; in the Tretā, from religious rites. In the Dwāpara, it is attained by pious services; but, in the Kali age, it is secured by repeating the name of Hari.* Similar doctrines are taught in the Gītā, and other Vaishṇava works. See Asiatic Researches, Vol. XVI., p. 116.

विद्यातपःप्राणनिरोधमैत्री-
तीर्थाभिषेकव्रतदानजपिः ।

नात्यन्तशुद्धिं लभतेऽनरात्मा

यथा हृदिस्त्रि भगवत्पश्यन्ते ॥

तस्मात्सर्वात्मना राजन् हृदिस्त्रिं कुरु केशवम् ।

स्त्रियमाणो ह्यवहितस्ततो यासि परां गतिम् ॥

स्त्रियमाणैरभिधीयो भगवान्परमेस्वरः ।

आत्मभावं न यत्कङ्कसर्वात्मा सर्वसंश्रयः ॥

कलेर्दोषनिधि राजन्नस्ति ह्येको महागुणः ।

कीर्तनादेव कृष्णस्य मुक्तबन्धः परं व्रजेत् ॥

कृते यज्यायतो विष्णुं चेतायां यजतो मखैः ।

द्वापरे परिचर्यायां कलौ तद्वरि कीर्तनात् ॥

* Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., p. 161.

CHAPTER III.

Of the different kinds of dissolution. Duration of a Parārdha
 is used as a standard for measuring time. The dissolution
 that occurs at the end of a day of Brahmā.

The dissolution of existing beings is of three
 kinds,—incidental, elemental, and absolute.¹ The inci-
 dental is that which relates to Brahmā, and occurs at
 the end of a day of Brahmā. The elemental is that which takes

¹ The first is called Naimittika, † 'occasional' or 'incidental,'
 or Brāhmya, as occasioned by the intervals of Brahmā's days;
 the destruction of creatures, though not of the substance of the
 world, occurring during his night. The general resolution of the
 elements into their primitive source, or Prakṛiti, is the Prakṛitika
 destruction, and occurs at the end of Brahmā's life. The third,
 the absolute or final, Ātyantika, is individual annihilation; Moksha,
 exemption for ever from future existence. ‡ The Bhāgavata§ here
 notices the fourth kind, of which mention occurred in a preceding
 passage (Vol. I., p. 113),—Nitya, or constant dissolution;—ex-
 plaining it to be the imperceptible change that all things suffer
 in the various stages of growth and decay, life and death. "The
 various conditions of beings subject to change are occasioned by
 that constant dissolution of life which is rapidly produced by the
 resistless stream of time, taking everything perpetually away:"

कालस्रोतोऽवेनाशु द्वियमाणस्य नित्यदा ।

परिणामिनामवस्थाया अव्यप्रलयहेतवः ॥

The Yāyū describes but three kinds of Pralaya, omitting the
 Nitya.

* *Pratisanchara*. See Vol. I., p. 52, note *.

† Corrected from "Naimittika".

‡ *Vide supra*, p. 61, note §, *ad finem*.

§ XII., IV., 35.

place after two Parárdhas; the absolute is (final) liberation * (from existence).

MAITREYA.—Tell me, excellent master, what enumeration of a Parárdha, the expiration of which is the period of elemental dissolution.¹

PARÁŚARA.—A Parárdha, Maitreya, is that which occurs in the eighteenth place of figures enumerated according to the rule of decimal notation.² At

¹ Maitreya has a rather indifferent memory (see Vol. I, pp. 46-47); but the periods specified in the two places do not agree. In the First Book, two Parárdhas, as equal to one hundred years of Brahmā, are 311,040,000,000,000 years of mortals.

² Counting according to this mode of enumeration, a Parárdha is represented by 100,000,000,000,000,000. The Vāyu Purāṇa† has

* Moksha.

† Quoted by Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha, as follows:

कोटिकोटिसहस्राणि परार्धमिति कीर्त्तयेत् ।
 परार्धं द्विगुणं चापि परमाङ्गर्मेनीषिणः ॥
 स्थानं दशगुणं विद्यादेकं दश शतं ततः ।
 सहस्रमयुतं तस्मान्नियुतं प्रयुतं ततः ॥
 अर्बुदं न्यर्बुदं चैव पुन्दं चैव ततः परम् ।
 खर्वं चैव निखर्वं च शङ्खः पद्मस्तथैव च ॥
 समुद्रो मध्यमन्तश्च परार्धं परमेव च ।
 एवमष्टादशैतानि पदानि गणनाविधी ॥

The English of this is, in brief, as below, and corrects Professor Wilson's representation, in several particulars:

<i>Eka</i>	1
<i>Dasa</i>	10
<i>Śata</i>	100
<i>Sahasra</i>	1,000
<i>Ayuta</i>	10,000
<i>Niyuta</i>	100,000
<i>Prayuta</i>	1,000,000
<i>Arbuda</i>	10,000,000

the end of twice that period, elemental dissolution occurs, when all the discrete products of nature are

For each of these decimal values: Daśa (दश), 10; Śata (शत), 100; Sahasra (सहस्र), 1000; Ayuta (अयुत), 10,000; Niyuta (नियुत), 100,000; Prayuta (प्रयुत), 1,000,000; Arbuda (अर्बुद), 10,000,000; Nyarbuda* (न्यर्बुद), 100,000,000; Vṛinda (वृन्द), 1,000,000,000; Para† (पर), 10,000,000,000; Kharva (खर्व), 100,000,000,000; Nikharva (निखर्व), 1,000,000,000,000; Śankha (शङ्ख), 10,000,000,000,000; Padma (पद्म), 100,000,000,000,000; Samudra (समुद्र), 1,000,000,000,000,000; Madhyama‡ (मध्यम), 10,000,000,000,000,000; § Parārdha (परार्ध), 100,000,000,000,000,000.

Nyarbuda	100 000 000
Vṛinda	1,000,000,000
Kharva	10,000,000,000
Nikharva	100,000,000,000
Śankha	1,000 000,000,000
Padma	10 000 000,000,000
Samudra	100,000,000,000,000
Madhya	1,000,000,000,000,000
Anta	10,000 000,000,000,000
Parārdha	100,000,000,000,000 000

2 parardhas, i. e., half-paras, = a para.

Our commentators' manuscripts of the *Vāyu-purāṇa* must have differed very noticeably, as to the foregoing passage, from those to which I have access.

A *niyuta* denotes, according to different authorities, a hundred thousand, a million, &c. More usually, however, it is a synonym of *lakṣa*; as in the passage annotated *supra*, p. 92, note ‡. See Messrs. Böhtlingk and Roth's *Sanskrit-Wörterbuch*, sub voce **नियुत**.

For a very learned article on Sanskrit numeration, from the pen of Dr. Albrecht Weber, see the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*, Vol. XV., pp. 132—140.

* Corrected from "Nyarvuda", and the Sanskrit similarly.

† The original word is not, here, a technicality.

‡ Read "Madhya". See note † in the preceding page.

§ *Anta* is here omitted.

|| In the *Lilāvati*, Chapter II., Section I., the *parārāha* is arrived at differently, in this wise:

withdrawn into their indiscrete source. The shortest period of time is a Mátrá, which is equal to the twinkling of the human eye.* Fifteen Mátrás make a Káshthá; thirty Káshthás, one Kalá; fifteen Kalás, one Nádiká. A Nádiká is ascertained by a measure of water with a vessel made of twelve Palas and a handle of wood in the bottom of which there is to be a hole made with a tube of gold, of the weight of four Māshas, and four inches long.¹† According to the Mágadha measure,

In the First Book, the Parárdha, as the half of Brahmá's life, is but 155.520.000.000.000,—fifteen, instead of eighteen,* places of figures.

¹ The description of the Clepsydra is very brief, and wanting

<i>Eka</i>	1
<i>Daśa</i>	10
<i>Śata</i>	100
<i>Sahasra</i>	1,000
<i>Ayuta</i>	10 000
<i>Lakṣa</i>	100 000
<i>Prayuta</i>	1 000 000
<i>Koṭi</i>	10,000,000
<i>Arbuda</i>	100 000 000
<i>Abja</i>	1,000,000,000
<i>Kharva</i>	10,000 000,000
<i>Nikharva</i>	100,000,000,000
<i>Mahápadma</i>	1,000,000,000,000
<i>Śanku</i>	10,000,000,000,000
<i>Jaladhi</i>	100,000,000 000,000
<i>Antya</i>	1,000,000,000,000,000
<i>Madhya</i>	10,000,000,000,000,000
<i>Parárdha</i>	100,000,000,000,000,000

As words, *abja* is a synonym of *padma*; and *jaladhi*, of *samudra*.

* निमेषो मानुषो योऽयं मात्रामात्रः प्रमाणतः ।

† उन्माजिनाम्नसः सा तु पलान्वर्धचयोदश ।

हेममघिः कृतच्छिद्रश्चतुर्भिश्चतुरङ्गुलैः ॥

The expression चर्धचयोदश is explained, 'by the commentators, to mean "twelve and a half". The *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* has *dvādaśārdha*.

the vessel should hold sixteen Prastha (or sixteen Palas) of water. Two of these Prasthās make one Muhúrta, thirty of which are a day and night. Thirty such periods form a month; twelve months make a year, or a day and night of the gods; and three hundred and sixty such days constitute a year of the celestials. An aggregate of four ages contains twelve thousand divine years; and a thousand periods of four ages complete a day of Brahmā. That period is, also, termed a Kalpa, during which fourteen Manus preside; and, at the end of it, occurs the incidental or Brahmā dissolution. The nature of this dissolution is very fearful. Hear me describe it, as well as that which takes place at the elemental dissolution, which I will, also, relate to you.

At the end of a thousand periods of four ages, the earth is, for the most part, exhausted. A total dearth then ensues, which lasts a hundred years; and, in conse-

in precision. One of the commentaries* is more explicit: "A vessel made of twelve Palas and a half of copper, and holding a Prastha, (Māgadha measure) of water, broad at top, and having, at bottom, a tube of gold, of four Māshas weight, four fingers long, is placed in water; and the time in which the vessel is filled by the hole in the bottom is called a Nádikā:" सार्धद्वादशपलताम्रमयं मागधं प्रस्थं समितमूर्ध्वायतं पाचं चतुर्मासचतुरङ्गुलह्रिमशलाकया कृताधश्छिद्रं जले स्थापितं तेन छिद्रेण यावता कालेन पूर्यते तावत्काली नादिकेति। The term Śalākā generally means a needle or stake; but it must, here, denote a pipe. The common measure of the Nádi is a thin shallow brass cup, with a small hole in the bottom. It is placed on the surface of water, in a large vessel, where nothing can disturb it, and where the water gradually fills the cup, and sinks it. Asiatic Researches, Vol. V., p. 87.

* Śrīdhara's. Ratnagarbha enters into further particulars.

quence of the failure of food, all beings become languid and exanimate, and, at last, entirely perish.* The eternal † Vishṇu then assumes the character of Rudra, the destroyer, and descends to reunite all (his) creatures with himself. He enters into the seven rays of the sun, †; drinks up all the waters of the globe, and causes all moisture whatever, in living bodies, in the soil, to evaporate; thus drying up the whole earth. The seas, the rivers, the mountain torrents, and springs are, all, exhaled; and so are all the waters of Pātāla, § (the regions below the earth). Thus fed, through his intervention, with abundant moisture, the seven solar rays dilate to seven suns, ‡ whose radiance glows above,

* See Vol. II., p. 297, note 1.

† These, also, have their several appellations. The commentator ¶ quotes the Vedas, ** as the authority: Ároga, †† Bhrāja, Pātāla, Patanga, Swarṇabhāj, ‡‡ Jyotishmat, and Savibhāsa. §§

• ततो यान्यसाराणि तानि सत्त्वान्यशेषतः ।

अथं यान्ति मुनिश्रेष्ठ पार्थिवान्यन्नपीडनात् ॥

† *Avyaya*. See Vol. I., p. 17, note *.

‡ See the *Taittiriya-āranyaka*, I., VII., 1. The seven suns are there called Ároga, Bhrāja, Pātāla, Patanga, Swarṇara, Jyotishmat, and Vibhāsa.

§ "The Pátālas", according to the Sanskrit. For these domains, see Vol. II., pp. 209, *et seq.*

¶ *Anubhāva*.

¶ Both the commentators give the names following.

** Hereon the commentators cite a stanza: Ratnagarbha gives it as anonymous; but Śrīdhara refers it to the *Kārma-purāṇa*. The seven rays are there said to be Sushumṇa, Harikeśa, Viśwakarman, Viśwavyarchas (?), Varchas, Vasu, Saṃpadvasu(?).

Compare the particulars in notes 1 and † to p. 297 of Vol. II.

†† So reads Ratnagarbha. Śrīdhara has Ároga.

‡‡ Corrected from "Swamābhāk". Śrīdhara's reading, in my one MS., seems to be Swarṇaroman.

§§ Vibhāvasu, according to Śrīdhara.

below, and on every side,* and sets the three worlds and Pātāla† on fire. The three worlds, consumed by these suns, become rugged and deformed,‡ throughout the whole extent of their mountains, rivers, and seas; and the earth, bare of verdure, and destitute of moisture, alone remains resembling, in appearance, the back of a tortoise. The destroyer of all things, Hari, in the form of Rudra, who is the flame of time,§ becomes the scorching breath of the serpent Śeṣha, and thereby reduces Pātāla to ashes. The great fire, when it has burnt all the divisions of Pātāla, proceeds to the earth, and consumes it, also.¶ A vast whirlpool of eddying flame then spreads to the region of the atmosphere,** and the sphere of the gods,†† and wraps them in ruin. The three spheres show like a frying-pan, amidst the surrounding flames that prey upon all moveable or stationary things. The inhabitants of the two (upper) spheres, having discharged their functions,‡‡ and being annoyed by the heat, remove to (the sphere above, or) Mahar-loka. When that becomes heated, its tenants, who, after the full period of their stay, are desirous of

* There is no Sanskrit for "on every side".

† The plural is better.

‡ For "rugged and deformed" the original has *nissneha*, "deprived of moisture."

§ *Kālāgni*. See Vol. I., p. 128, text and note ‡.

¶ The original has the plural.

¶ पातालानि समस्तानि स दग्ध्वा ज्वलनो महान् ।
भूमिमभ्येत्य सकलं बभक्षि वसुधातमम् ॥

** *Bhavar-loka*. Variant: *Bhuv-loka*.

†† *Svar-loka*.

‡‡ *Kṛtādhikāra*. Variant: *kṛtādhikāra*, "deprived of office."

ascending to higher regions, depart for the Jana-loka.^{1*}

Janárdana, in the person of Rudra, having consumed the whole world, breathes forth heavy clouds; and those called Samvartaka, † resembling vast elephants, in bulk, overspread the sky,—roaring, and darting lightnings. Some are as black as the blue lotos; some are (white) as the water-lily; some are dusky, like smoke; and some are yellow; some are (of a dun colour,) like (that of) an ass; some, like ashes sprinkled on the forehead; some are (deep blue,) as the lapis lazuli; some

¹ The passage § may, also, be understood: “Those go to Jana-loka, who are desirous of obtaining Brahma, or final liberation, through the ten stages of perfection,—devotion, penance, truth, &c.” In the Vāyu Purāṇa, more details are specified. Those sainted mortals who have diligently worshipped Viṣṇu, and are distinguished for piety, abide, at the time of dissolution, in Mahar-loka, with the Pitṛis, the Manus, the seven Rīṣhis, the various orders of celestial spirits, and the gods. These, when the heat of the flames that destroy the world reaches to Mahar-loka, repair to Jana-loka, in their subtle forms, destined to become reembodied, in similar capacities as their former, when the world is renewed, at the beginning of the succeeding Kalpa. This continues throughout the life of Brahmā. At the expiration of his life, all are destroyed; but those who have then attained a residence in the Brahma-loka, by having identified themselves, in spirit, with the Supreme, are, finally, resolved into the sole-existing Brahma.

* तस्मादपि महातापतप्ता लोकास्ततः परम् ।

गच्छन्ति जगल्लोकं ते दशवृत्त्या परैषिणः ॥

† Corrected from “Samvartta”. See Vol. I., p. 53, note 3.

‡ I find साधारसनिभाः ।

§ Both the commentaries dwell on it at length.

! For the various Lokas and their denizens, see Vol. II., pp. 225, et seq.

(azure), like the sapphire; some are (white) as the conch or the jasmine; and some are (black) as collyrium; some are (of bright red), like the lady-bird;* some are of the brightness of red arsenic;† and some are like the wing of the (painted) jay. (Such are these massy clouds, in hue.) In form, some resemble towns; some mountains; some are like houses and hovels;‡ and some are like columns. § Mighty in size, and loud in thunder, they fill all space. Showering down torrents of water, these clouds quench the dreadful fires which involve the three worlds; and then they rain, uninterruptedly, for a hundred years, and deluge the whole world. Pouring down, in drops as large as dice, these rains overspread the earth, and fill the middle region,¶ and inundate heaven. The world is now enveloped in darkness; and, all things, animate or inanimate, having perished, the clouds continue to pour down their waters for more than a hundred years.

* *Indragopa*. See Vol. IV., p. 284, note .

† ममःशिलनिभासदा ।

‡ "Houses and hovels" is to render *kūtāgāra*, which denotes a superstructure on the roof of a house.

§ Śrīdhara reads *sthūla*, 'a heap', 'a tent'; Ratnagarbha, *śirīṣā*, 'wool'. Other lections which I find are *sthala* 'a mound', 'a tent'; and *sthāna*, of unascertained signification.

| *Nabhas-tala*.

¶ *Bhuvo-loka*.

CHAPTER

Continuation of the account of the first kind of dissolution. Of the second kind, or elemental dissolution; of all being resolved into primary *ahimsa*.

WHEN the waters have receded, the region of the seven Rishis,* and the whole of the three worlds is one ocean, they stop. The breath of Vishnu becomes a (strong) wind, which blows for more than a hundred years, until all the clouds are dispersed. The wind is then reabsorbed; and he of whom all things are made, the lord by whom all things exist,† he who is inconceivable, without beginning, beginning of the universe; reposes, sleeping upon Śeṣha, in the midst of the deep. The creator,§ Hari, sleeps (upon the ocean), in the form of Brahmā,—glorified by Sanaka and the saints¶ who had gone to the Jana-loka, and contemplated by the holy inhabitants of Brahma-loka, anxious for final liberation,—involved in mystic slumber, the celestial personification of his own illusions, and meditating on his own ineffable spirit, which is called Vāsudeva.**

* See Vol. II., p. 226, and p. 230, note †.

† भूतभावनः ।

‡ Corrected from the printer's error "without beginning of the universe." The original is अनादिरादिविद्यम् ।

§ *Ādikṛit*.

|| See Vol. I., p. 59, and p. 77, note 1; also, Vol. II., p. 200, note †.

¶ *Siddha*.

** आत्ममायामयीं दिव्यां योगनिद्रां समाखितः ।

आत्मानं वासुदेवाख्यं चिन्तयन्परमेश्वरः ॥

For Yoganidra, which the Translator here renders by "mystic slumber", see Vol. IV., p. 260, note 1.

This, Maitreya, is the dissolution* termed incidental: because Hari, in the form of Brahmá, sleeps there, as its incidental cause.†

When the universal spirit wakes, the world revives; when he closes his eyes, all things fall upon the bed of mystic slumber. In like manner as a thousand great ages constitute a day of Brahmá,‡ so his night consists of the same period,— during which the world is submerged by the vast ocean. Awaking at the end of his night, the unborn Vishnú, in the character of Brahmá, creates the universe anew, in the manner formerly related to you.¹

I have, thus, described to you the intermediate dissolution of the world, occurring at the end¶ of every Kalpa. I will now, Maitreya, describe to you elemental dissolution. When, by dearth and fire, all the worlds and Pátálas are withered up, and the modifications of Mahat and other products of nature are, by the will of Kṛishná, destroyed, the progress of elemental dissolution is begun. Then, first, the waters swallow up the property of earth, (which is the rudiment of smell);

¹ The Naimittika Pralaya is described in the Vāyu, Bhāgavata, Kúrma, and other Purāṇas, to the same effect, and, very commonly, in precisely the same words.

* *Pātsanchara*.

† "Incidental cause" is for *nyutta*. See Vol. I., p. 65, note †, *ad finem*.

: निमीलयेत्तद्विषयं योगशब्दाश्रये ऽच्युते ।

§ The original has Padmayoni, the same as Abjayoni, for which see Vol. I., p. 17, note †.

¶ *Pralaya*.

¶ *Samhāra*.

and earth, deprived of its property, proceeds to destruction. Devoid of the rudiment of odour, the earth becomes one with water.* The waters, then, being much augmented, roaring, and rushing along, fill up all space whether agitated or still.† When the universe is, thus pervaded by the waves of the watery element, its rudimental flavour is licked up by the element of fire; and in consequence of the destruction of their rudiments the waters themselves are destroyed.‡ Deprived of (the essential rudiment of) flavour, they become one with fire; and the universe is, therefore, entirely filled with flame,§ which drinks up the water on every side and gradually overspreads the whole of the world. While space is enveloped in flame, above, below, and all around, the element of wind seizes upon the rudimental property, or form, which is the cause of light: and, that being withdrawn,¶ all becomes of the nature of air. The rudiment of form being destroyed, and fire** deprived of its rudiment, air extinguishes fire and spreads, resistlessly, over space, which is deprived of light, when fire merges into air. Air, then, accompanied by sound, which is the source of ether, extends

* Śrīdhara, like several independent MSS., here interposes the following verse:

रसाज्जलं समुद्भूतं तस्माज्जातं रसात्मकम् ।

† तिष्ठन्नि विचरन्नि च ।

‡ अपामपि गुणो यस्य ज्योतिषा पीयते तु सः ।

नञ्जन्वापस्तसाश्च रसतन्वाचसंश्चयात् ॥

§ अग्न्यवस्थे तु सलिले तेजसा सर्वतो वृते ।

॥ ज्योतिषोऽपि परं रूपं वायुरन्ति प्रभाकरम् ।

¶ *Pralīna.*

** *Vibhāvasu.*

everywhere throughout the ten regions of space,* until ether seizes upon contact,† its rudimental property, by the loss of which, air is destroyed, and ether‡ remains unmodified: devoid of form, flavour, touch,§ and smell, it exists unembodied|| and vast, and pervades the whole of space. Water,¶ whose characteristic property and rudiment is sound, exists alone, occupying all the vacancy of space. But then the radical element†† (egoism), devoid of sound; and all the elements and properties are merged into their original.∴ This primary element is consciousness,§§ combined with the property of darkness,||| and is, itself, swallowed up by Mahat, whose characteristic property is intelligence;¶¶ and earth and Mahat are the inner and outer boundaries of the universe. In this manner,—as (in the creation.) were the seven forms of nature (Prakṛiti), reckoned from Mahat to earth,^{1***}—so, at the (time of

¹ See Vol. I., p. 29.

* तत्सु मूलमासाद्य वायुः संभवमात्मनः ।
ऊर्ध्वं चाधस्य तिर्यक् दोधवीति दिशो दश ॥

† Sparśa.

‡ Kha.

§ Sparśa.

|| I find no reading but *mūrttimat*, which means 'embodied'.

¶ Ākāśa. See Vol. I., p. 34, note ..

** परिमण्डलं तत्सुधिरमाकाशम् ।

†† Bhūtādi. See Vol. I., p. 33, note ..

∴ भूतेन्द्रियेषु युगपद्भूतादी संस्थितेषु वै ।

§§ अभिमानात्मकः । See Vol. I., p. 33, note ∴.

||| This phrase is to render *tāmasa*, for which see Vol. I., p. 34, note I and p. 35, note ..

¶¶ Buddhi.

*** एवं सप्त महाबुधैः क्रमात्मकतयसु वै ।

elemental) dissolution,* these seven successively re-enter into each other. The egg of Brahmā† is dissolved in the waters that surround it, with its seven zones, seven oceans, seven regions, and their mountains. The investiture of water is drunk up by fire; the (stratum of) fire is absorbed by (that of) air; air blends itself with ether; the primary elements (of egotism) devours the ether, and is (itself,) taken up by intellect,|| which, along with all these, is seized upon by nature (Prakṛiti). Equilibrium of the (three) properties, without excess or deficiency, is called nature (Prakṛiti), origin (Mūla) the chief principle (Pradhāna), ‡ cause (Kāraṇa), supreme (Para). This Prakṛiti is, essentially, the same, whether discrete or indiscrete; only that which is discrete is, finally, lost or absorbed in the indiscrete.** Spirit, †† also, which is one, pure, imperishable, eternal, all-pervading, is a portion of that supreme spirit which is all things. That spirit:: which is other than (embodied) spirit, in which there are no attributes of name,

The seven *prakṛitis*, or productive productions, are, in the pure Sāṅkhya philosophy, *mahat*, *ahanikāra*, and the five *tanmātras*. See the *Sāṅkhya-kārikā*, III., and the commentaries.

With the statements in the text, which counts the seven *prakṛitis* from *mahā-buddhi*—the same as *mahat*,—compare Vol. I., p. 40.

* *Pratyāhāra*.

† *Sarva-māṇḍala*.

‡ *Dvīpa*.

§ *Bhūtādi*.

|| *Mahat*.

¶ See Vol. I., p. 20, note *.

** इति वा प्रकृतिः सर्वा व्यक्ताव्यक्तस्वरूपिणी ।
व्यक्तं स्वरूपमव्यक्ते तद्विषयीयेय कीदृशे ॥

†† *Puṁsa*.

:: *Sarveda*.

species,* or the like,—which is one with (all) wisdom, and is to be understood as (sole) existence,† that is Brahma, infinite glory,‡ supreme spirit, supreme power,§ Vishṇu, all that is; from whence the (perfect) sage|| returns no more. Nature (Prakṛiti) which I have described to you as being, essentially, both discrete and indiscrete,—and spirit¶ (which is united with body), both resolve into supreme spirit. Supreme spirit is the upholder of all things, and the ruler of all things,** and is glorified in the Vedas and in the Vedānta, by the name of Viṣṇu.

Works enjoined by the Vedas, are of two kinds, active (Pravṛtta) and quiescent (Nivṛtta), by both of which the universal person†† is worshipped by mankind. He, the lord of sacrifice,‡‡ the male of sacrifice,§§ the most excellent male, is worshipped, by men, in the active mode, by rites*enjoined in the R̥g-, Yajur-, and Sāma-Vedas. The soul of wisdom, the person of wisdom,¶¶ Viṣṇu, the giver of emancipation, is worshipped, by sages,*** in the quiescent form, through medi-

* Nāman and jati. Vide *supra*, p. 15, note •.

† Sattī.

‡ परं धाम ।

§ "Supreme power" is to render *īśvara*.

¶ Yati.

¶¶ *Puruṣa*.

** This expression is to translate *paramēśvara*.

†† *Sarva-mūrtti*.

‡‡ *Yajñakṛā*.

§§ *Yajna-puṁs*.

¶¶ *Puruṣottama*.

¶¶¶ *Jñāna-mūrtti*.

*** *Yogin*.

tative devotion.* The exhaustless† Vishnu is whatever thing that is designated by long, short, or prolated syllables, or that which is without a name. He is that which is discrete, and that which is indiscrete; he is exhaustless spirit, supreme spirit, universal spirit; Hari, the wearer of universal forms. Nature, whether discrete or indiscrete, is absorbed into him; and (detached) spirit,§ also, merges into the all-diffusive and unobstructed spirit.¶ The period of two Parárdhas, as I have described it to you, Maitreya, is called his day; that potent Vishnu; and, whilst the products of nature are merged into their source, nature into spirit, and that into the Supreme, that period is termed his night, and is of equal duration with his day.** But, in fact, to that eternal supreme spirit there is neither day nor night; and these distinctions are only figuratively applied to the Almighty.†† I have, thus, explained to you the nature of elemental dissolution, and will now expound to you which is final.¹

¹ The Bhāgavata notices the Prākṛita pralaya much more briefly; and it is omitted in the Vāyu.

* *Jñāna-yoga.*

† *Ayavaya.* See Vol. I., p. 17, note *.

‡ *Īśvātman.*

§ *Purusha.*

¶ *Vyāpin.*

¶ *Ātman.*

** व्यक्ते च प्रकृती क्षीने प्रकृत्यां पुरुषे तथा ।

तच्च स्थिते निशा चान्या तत्प्रमाणा महामुने ॥

†† उपचारस्तथाप्येष तत्स्थेऽस्य द्विजोच्यते ।

CHAPTER V.

The third kind of dissolution, or final liberation from existence. Evils of worldly life. Sufferings in infancy, manhood, old age. Pains of hell. Imperfect felicity of heaven. Exemption from birth, desirable by the wise. The nature of spirit or god. Meaning of the terms Bhagavat and Vāsudeva.

THE wise man, having investigated the three kinds of worldly pains, — or mental and bodily affliction, and the like, — and having acquired (true) wisdom, and detachment (from human objects), obtains final dissolution. The first of the three pains, or *Ādhyātmika*, is of two kinds, bodily and mental. Bodily pain is of many kinds, as you shall hear. Affections of the head, catarrh, fever, cholic, fistula, spleen, hemorrhoids,† intumescence, sickness, ophthalmia, dysentery, leprosy, and many other diseases constitute bodily affliction. Mental sufferings are love, anger, fear, hate, covetousness, stupefaction,‡ despair,§ sorrow, malice,|| disdain, jealousy, envy, and many other passions which are engendered in the mind. These and various other

¹ The three kinds of affliction,¶ inseparable, incidental, and superhuman, are fully described, in the commentary on the first verse of the *Sāṅkhya Kārikā*, p. 8, in a similar strain as that which is adopted in the text. .

* *Tāpa-traya*.

† Here the original inserts *śvāsa*, 'asthma' (?).

‡ *Moha*.

§ *Vishāda*.

|| *Asūya*.

¶ *Vide supra*, p. 60, note . .

(afflictions, mental or corporeal,) are comprised under the class of (worldly) sufferings, which is called Adhyāt-mika (natural and inseparable). That pain to which, excellent Brahman, the term Adhibhautika (natural, but incidental,) is applied, is every kind of evil which is inflicted * (from without,) upon men by beasts, † birds, men, goblins, ‡ snakes, § or reptiles; ¶ and the pain that is termed Adhidivika (or superhu-man,) is the work of cold, heat, wind, rain, † lightning, and other (atmospherical phenomena). In the Ma-treya, is multiplied in thousands of stripes, in (the pro-gress of) conception, ** birth, decay, disease, death, † hell. The tender (and subtile) animal exists in the embryo, †† surrounded by abundant filth, floating in water, ‡‡ and distorted in its back, neck, and bones; enduring severe pain, even in the course of its devel-opment, §§ as disordered by the acid, aerid, bitter, ¶¶ pungent, *** and saline articles of its mother's food; in-capable of extending or contracting its limbs, reposing amidst the slime of ordure and urine, every way in-commoded, unable to breathe, endowed with conscious-

* There is free interpolation here.

† Mṛga.

‡ Piśācha.

§ Rākṣhasa.

¶ Sarisṛipa.

¶¶ Insert 'water', ambu.

** Garbha.

†† Garbha, again.

‡‡ I find no Sanskrit for these words.

§§ वर्धमानातिवेदनः ।

||| Kāṣu.

¶¶ Tikṣhṇa.

*** Ushṇa.

ness,* and calling to memory many hundred (previous) births. Thus exists the embryo, in profound affliction, bound (to the world) by its (former) works.

When the child is about to be born, its face is smeared by excrement, urine, blood, mucus,† and semen; its attachment to the uterus is ruptured; by the Prājāpatya§ wind; it is turned head downwards, and violently expelled from the womb by the powerful and painful pains of parturition; and the infant, losing, for a moment, its position, when brought in contact with the external air, is immediately deprived of its intellectual knowledge.¶ Thus born, the child is tortured in every limb, as if pierced with thorns, or cut to pieces with a saw, and falls from its fetid lodgement, as from a sore, like a crawling thing, upon the earth.¶ Unable to feel** itself, unable to turn itself, it is dependent upon the will of others for being bathed†† and nourished. Laid upon a dirty bed,‡ it is bitten by insects and mosquitoes,§§ and has not power to drive them away. Many are the pangs attending birth; and (many are those) which succeed to birth; and many are the

* *Sachantanya*.

† There is no word for "mucus", in the original.

‡ *पीड्यमानास्त्रिवन्धनः* ।

§ Corrected from "Prājāpati".

¶ "Intellectual knowledge" is to render *vijnāna*.

¶ *कण्टकैरिव तुम्बाङ्गः क्रकषैरिव दारितः* ।

पूतिव्रणान्निष्पतितो धरणां कृमिको यथा ॥

** The original, *कण्डूयने चाप्यशतः*, denotes scratching.

†† A variant yields 'drinking milk'.

‡ *Srastara*, with *prastara* as a variant. See Vol. III., p. 131, note *.

§§ *Dainśa*, 'gadflies.'

sufferings which are inflicted by elemental and super-human agency, in the state of childhood.* Enveloped by the gloom of ignorance, and internally bewildered, man knows not whence he is, who he is, whither he goeth, nor what is his nature; by what bonds he is bound; what is cause, and what is not cause; what is to be done, and what is to be left undone;† what is to be said, and what is to be kept silent; what is righteousness, what is iniquity; in what it consists, or how; what is right, what is wrong;‡ what is virtue, what is vice. Thus, man, like a brute beast, addicted only to animal gratifications, suffers the pain that ignorance occasions.§ Ignorance, darkness, inactivity influence those devoid of knowledge, so that pious works are neglected; but hell is the consequence of neglect of (religious) acts, according to the great sages; and the ignorant, therefore, suffer affliction both in this world and in the next.

When old age arrives, the body is infirm; the limbs are relaxed; the face is emaciate and shrivelled;¶ the skin is wrinkled, and scantily covers the veins and

* बालभावे यदाप्नोति आधिभौतादिकानि च ।

† किं कार्यं किमकार्यं वा । I should prefer "what is effect, and what is not effect", considering what we meet with just below. See the next note.

‡ किं कर्तव्यमकर्तव्यं किम् । "What is to be done, and what is not to be done."

§ एवं पशुसमीर्मूढैरज्ञानप्रभवं महत् ।

अवाप्यते नरिर्दुःखं शिम्नोदरपरायणे ॥

¶ अज्ञानं तामसो भावः कार्यारम्भाप्रवृत्तयः ।

अज्ञानिनां प्रवर्तन्ते कर्मलोपासतो दिव ॥

¶ Rather, "the teeth decay and fall out;" विगलच्छीर्षदशनः । This is the only good reading that I find.

sinews; the eye discerns not afar off, and the pupil gazes on vacuity; the nostrils are stuffed with hair; the trunk trembles (as it moves); the bones appear (beneath the surface); the back is bowed, and the joints are bent; the digestive fire is extinct, and there is little appetite and little vigour; † walking, rising, sleeping, sitting are (all) painful efforts; the ear is dull; the eye is dim; the mouth is disgusting with dribbling saliva; the senses no longer are obedient to the will; and, as death approaches, the things that are perceived even are immediately forgotten. § The utterance of a single sentence is fatiguing; and wakefulness is perpetuated by (difficult) breathing, coughing, and (painful) exhaustion. The † old man is lifted up by somebody else; he is clothed by somebody else; he is an object of contempt to his servants, his children, and his wife. Incapable of cleanliness, of amusement, or food, or desire, he is laughed at by his dependants, and disregarded by his kin; and, dwelling on the exploits of his youth, as on the actions of a past life, he sighs deeply, and is sorely distressed. Such are some of the pains which old age is condemned to suffer. I will now describe to you the agonies of death.

The neck droops; the feet and hands are relaxed; the body trembles; the man is, repeatedly, exhausted,

* वल्लिन्नायुश्शिरावृतः ।

† Chēshṭita, 'activity.'

‡ स्रवक्ष्णान्निमाननः ।

§ अनायसीः समसीध करवीर्मरणोद्युतः ।

तत्पणे ऽप्यनुभूतानामकर्तास्त्रिबन्धुनाम् ॥

‡ "Past life," in the sense of previous state of existence. The original expression is अन्वक्षिन्नानि ।

subdued, and visited with interrupted knowledge.* The principle of selfishness afflicts him, and he thinks: "What will become of my wealth, my lands,† my children, my wife, my servants, my house?" The joints of his limbs are tortured with severe pains, as if cut by a saw, or as if they were pierced by the sharp arrows of the destroyer;‡ he rolls his eyes, and tosses about his hands and feet; his lips and palate are parched and dry; and his throat, obstructed by foul humours and deranged vital airs,§ emits a rattling sound; he is afflicted with burning heat, and with thirst, and with hunger; and he, at last, passes away, tortured by the servants of the judge of the dead, to undergo a renewal of his sufferings in another body. These are the agonies which men have to endure, when they die. I will now describe to you the tortures which they suffer in hell.

Men are bound, when they die, by the servants of the king of Tartarus,¶ with cords, and beaten with sticks, and have, then, to encounter the fierce aspect of Yama, and the horrors of their terrible route. In the different hells there are various intolerable tortures with burning sand,** fire, machines, and weapons: some

• स्रग्नीवाङ्महसोऽथ व्याप्तो वेपथुना नरः ।
मुहुर्बानिः परवशो मुञ्चर्मानसवान्वितः ॥

† *Dhanya*, 'grain.'

‡ The Sanskrit has *Antaka*, the same as *Yama*. *Vide supra*,* p. 15, note §§.

§ This is a free rendering.

|| याम्यकिङ्करपीडितः ।

¶ याम्यकिङ्करः ।

** करश्वायुकाः । Compare the *Laws of the Manavas*, XII., 76.

are severed with saws; some, roasted in forges;* some are chopped with axes; some, buried in the ground; some are mounted on stakes; some, cast to wild beasts,† (to be devoured); some are gnawed by vultures; some, torn by tigers;‡ some are boiled in oil; some, rolled in caustic slime;§ some are precipitated from great heights; some, tossed (upwards) by engines. The number of punishments inflicted in hell, which are the consequences of sin, is infinite.¹

But not in hell alone do the souls of the deceased undergo pain: there is no cessation, even in heaven; for its temporary inhabitant is ever tormented with the prospect of descending again to earth. : Again is he liable to conception and to birth; he is merged again into the embryo, and repairs to it, when about to be born: then he dies, as soon as born, or in infancy, or in youth, or in old age. Death, sooner or later, is inevitable. ¶ As long as he lives, he is immersed in manifold afflictions, like the seed of the cotton amidst the down** that is to be spun into thread. In acquiring,

¹ Some further particulars of the different hells, and the punishments inflicted in them, have been given before. See Vol. II., pp. 214, *et seq*

* *Mūshā*, 'crucibles.'

† *Āghavān*.

‡ *Dvīpīn*, 'ounces', or 'panther's'.

§ *Śārkaṛḍḍi*.

न केवलं द्विवश्रेष्ठ नरके दुःखपतति ।

स्वर्गेऽपि पातभीतस्तत्र क्षयिणीर्नास्ति निर्वृतिः ॥

¶ This sentence is to render ध्रुवा मृतिः ।

** *Pakshman*, 'filaments.'

losing, and preserving wealth, there are many griefs; and so there are in the misfortunes of our friends.* Whatever (is produced that) is (most) acceptable to man, that, Maitreya, becomes a seed whence springs the tree of sorrow. Wife, children, servants, house, lands, riches contribute much more to the misery, than to the happiness, of mankind. Where could man, scorched by the fires of the sun of this world,† look for felicity, were it not for the shade afforded by the tree of emancipation? Attainment of the divine being is considered, by the wise, as the remedy of the three-fold class of ills that beset the different stages of life, — conception, birth, and decay,—as characterized by that only happiness which effaces all other kinds of felicity, however abundant, and as being absolute and final.¹ :

It should, therefore, be the assiduous endeavour of wise men to attain unto God.² The means of such at-

¹ All this is conformable to the Sāṅkhya doctrines, in particular, although the same spirit pervades all Hindu metaphysics.

² Tasmāt Tat prāptaye yatnaḥ kartavyaḥ paṇḍitair naraīḥ :

तस्मात्तत्प्राप्तये यत्नः कर्तव्यः पण्डितैर्नरैः ।

The expression Tat-prāptaye, “for the obtaining of *that*,” refers to the phrase immediately preceding, — Bhagavat-prāptiḥ, “obtaining of,” or “attaining to, Bhagavat,” the Lord.

• तथैवेष्टविपत्तिषु । •

† *Saṁsāra*.

• तदस्त्रं त्रिविधं चापि दुःखजातस्य पण्डितैः ।
 गर्भजममराद्येषु स्थानेषु प्रभविष्यतः ॥
 निरस्तातिशयाद्वाहदसुखभाविकलसंया ।
 भेषजं भगवत्प्राप्तिरेकान्तात्मनिकी मता ॥

tainment are said, great Muni, to be knowledge and works. Knowledge is of two kinds,—that which is derived from scripture, and that which is derived from reflection.* Brahma that is the word is composed of scripture; Brahma that is supreme is produced of reflection.¹ Ignorance is utter darkness, in which knowledge obtained through any sense (as that of hearing,) shines like a lamp; but the knowledge that is derived from reflection breaks upon the obscurity like the sun.† What has been said by Manu, when appealing to the meaning of the Vedas, with respect to this subject, I will repeat to you.: There are two (forms of) spirit (or God),—the spirit which is the word, and the spirit which is supreme. He who is thoroughly imbued with the word of God obtains supreme spirit.² The Atharva Veda, also, states that there are two kinds of know-

¹ Brahma is of two kinds; Śabda-Brahma,—spirit, or God, to be attained through the word (that is, the Vedas,) and the duties they prescribe; and Para-Brahma,—spirit, or God, to be attained through reflection, by which the difference between soul and matter is ascertained.

² This seems intended as a quotation from Manu; but it has not been found in the code. It is:

द्वे ब्रह्मणी वेदितव्ये शब्दब्रह्म परं च यत् ।
शब्दब्रह्मणि निष्णातः परं ब्रह्माधिगच्छति ॥ §

* *Viveka*.

† अन्धं तम इवाज्ञानं दीपवच्चक्षुर्योऽज्ञवत् ।
यथा सूर्यसाया ज्ञानं यद्विप्रर्षे विवेकवत् ॥
: मनुरप्याह वेदार्थं श्रुत्वा यन्मुनिसत्तम ।
तदेतच्छ्रूयतामश्च संबन्धे गदतो मम ॥

§ This stanza appears in the *Maitri-ūpanishad*, VI., 22; and it occurs in the *Mahābhārata*, *Sānti-parvan*, *ll.* 8550, 8551.

ledge. By (the one which is) the supreme, God* is attained; the other is that which consists of the Rîch and other Vedas.¹ That which is imperceptible, undecaying, inconceivable, unborn, inexhaustible, † indescribable; which has neither form, nor hands, nor feet; which is almighty, § omnipresent, eternal; the cause of all things, and without cause; permeating all, itself unpenetrated, and from which all things proceed,—that is the object which the wise behold, that is Brahma, that is the supreme state, that is the subject of contemplation to those who desire liberation, that is the thing spoken of by the Vedas, the infinitely subtile, supreme condition of Vishnu. ‡ That essence of the Supreme ¶ is de-

¹ The commentator quotes other passages from the Vedas, of a similar tendency; intimating, however, the necessity of performing acts prior to attaining knowledge; as: कषाये कर्मभिः पक्के ततो ज्ञानं तु परमा गतिः । ** “The decoction (preparatory process) being digested by rites, thereafter knowledge is the supreme resource.”

अविद्यया मृत्युं तीर्त्वा विद्ययामृतमश्नुते ।

“Having crossed the gulf of death by ignorance (ceremonial acts), man obtains immortality by (holy) knowledge.”

* *Akshara.*

† *Avyaya.* See Vol. I., p. 17, note . .

‡ Compare Vol. IV., p. 253.

§ *Vibhu.*

¶ श्रुतिवाक्योद्दिष्टं सूक्ष्मं तद्विष्णोः परमं पदम् ।

¶ *Paramâtman.*

** This seems to be a selection from the following stanza, cited by the commentator Ratnagarbha:

कषायपक्विः कर्माणि ज्ञानं तु परमा गतिः ।

कषाये कर्मभिः पक्के ततो ज्ञानं प्रवर्तते ॥

finer by the term Bhagavat.¹ The word Bhagavat is the denomination of that primeval and eternal god;* and he who fully understands the meaning of that expression is possessed of holy wisdom,—the sum and substance of the three Vedas.† The word Bhagavat is a convenient form to be used in the adoration of that supreme being; to whom no term is applicable; and, therefore, Bhagavat expresses that Supreme Spirit, which is individual, almighty, and the cause of causes of all things. § The letter *Bha* implies the cherisher and supporter (of the universe). By *ga* is understood the leader, impeller, or creator. The dissyllable *Bhaga* indicates the six properties,—dominion, might, glory, splendour, wisdom and dispassion. The purport of

¹ According to the comment, allusion is here made to the twelve-syllable Mantra (or mystic formula) addressed to Vishnu: "Om Bhagavate Vāsudevāya namah; ¶ "Om! Salutation to Bhagavat Vāsudeva;" the repetition of which, by those devoted (bhakta) to Vishnu, is the easy mode of securing their liberation." The mysticism is, however, no doubt, older than the worship of Vishnu; and the term Bhagavat is defined, in the text, according to the interpretation of the Vedas.

* *Ātman*.

† एवं निगदितार्थस्य सतत्त्वं तस्य तत्त्वतः ।

• ज्ञायते येन तज्ज्ञानं परमं यत्तथीमयम् ॥

‡ *Brahma*.

§ गुह्ये महाविभूतास्त्रे परे ब्रह्मणि वर्तते ।

मेवेयं भगवच्छब्दः सर्वकारणकारणे ॥

ऐश्वर्यस्य समग्रस्य धर्मस्य यशसः त्रियः ।

ज्ञानवीराग्रगण्योऽस्यैव यस्यां भग इतीकृता ॥

¶ See Vol. I, p. 99, note •.

the letter *va* is that elemental spirit in which all beings exist, and which exists in all beings.^{1*} And, thus, this great word Bhagavat is the name of Vāsudeva, —who is one with the supreme Brahma,—and of no one else. This word, therefore, which is the general denomination of an adorable object, is not used, in reference to the Supreme, in a general, but a special, signification. When applied to any other (thing or person), it is used in its customary or general import.† In the latter case, it may purport one who knows the origin, and end, and revolutions of beings, and what is wisdom, : what ignorance. In the former, it denotes wisdom, § energy, power, dominion, might, glory, without end, and without defect. ||

The term Vāsudeva means, that all beings abide in that Supreme Being, and that he abides in all beings;² as was formerly explained by Kōśidhwaja to Khāndi-

¹ The commentator says, these interpretations are from the Nirukta,—the glossary of the Vedas. The more etymological derivation of the term is: Bhaga, 'power,' 'authority,' and vat, possessive affix.

² From the root Vas (वस), 'abiding,' 'dwelling.' See Vol. I., pp. 1 and 17.

• वसन्ति यत्र भूतानि भूतात्मनस्त्रिधात्मनि ।
सर्वभूतेष्वशेषेषु प्रकारार्धसतोऽव्ययः ॥

† तत्र पूज्यपदार्थोक्तिपरिभाषासमन्वितः ।
शब्दोऽयं नोपचारेण सन्त्यक्ष उपचारतः ॥

: *Vidyā*.

§ *Jñāna*.

|| विना द्वैतैर्गुणादिभिः ।

kya, called Janaka,* when he inquired of him an explanation of the name of the immortal,† Vāsudeva. He said: "He dwelleth internally in all beings; and all things dwell in him; and, thence, the lord Vāsudeva is the creator and preserver‡ of the world. He, though one with all beings, is beyond and separate from material nature (Prakṛiti), from its products, from properties, from imperfections; he is beyond all investing substance; he is universal soul. All the interstices of the universe are filled up by him.§ He is one with all good qualities; and all created beings are endowed with but a small portion of his individuality. Assuming, at will, various forms, he bestows benefits on the whole world, which was his work.¶ Glory, might, dominion, wisdom,** energy, power, and other attributes are collected in him. Supreme of the supreme, in whom no imperfections †† abide, lord over finite and infinite,‡

* *Vide infra*, p. 217, notes 1, •, and †.

† *Ananta*.

‡ "Creator" and "preserver" are to render *dhatṛi* and *vidhatṛi*, for which *vide supra*, p. 15, note ¶.

§ स सर्वभूतः प्रकृतिं विकारा-
गुणान्च दोषान्च मुने व्यतीतः ।
अतीतसर्वावरणोऽखिलात्मा
तेनासृजं यद्भुवनाम्तराले ॥

Instead of स सर्वभूतः प्रकृतिं, the stanza begins with स सर्वभूत-प्रकृतिं, according to several MSS.

¶ *Śakti*.

¶ इच्छागृहीताभिमतोद्देहः
संसाधिताशेषव्यवहितोऽसौ ।

** *Mahāvibodha*.

†† *Kleśa*.

‡ *Parāpareśa*.

god in individuals and universals,* visible and invisible, omnipotent, omnipresent, omniscient, almighty. The wisdom, perfect,† pure, supreme, undefiled, and one only, by which he is conceived, contemplated, and known,—that is wisdom: all else is ignorance.”

* **ब्रह्मिस्मष्टिरूपः**। See Vol. IV., p. 255, note §. The commentators concrete *vyashti* into *Sankarshāṇa*, &c., and *samashṭi* into *Vasudeva*.

† *Asta-doshā*.

CHAPTER VI.

Means of attaining liberation. Anecdotes of Khândikya and Kesidhwaja. The former instructs the latter how to atone for permitting the death of a cow. Kesidhwaja offers him a requital; and he desires to be instructed in spiritual knowledge.

HE, Purushottama, is, also, known by holy study* and devout meditation;† and either, as the cause of attaining him, is entitled Brahma. From study let a man proceed to meditation;‡ and from meditation to study:¹ by perfection in both, supreme spirit becomes manifest. Study is one eye, wherewith to behold it; and meditation is the other. He who is one with Brahma sees not with the eye of flesh. §

MAITREYA.—Reverend teacher, I am desirous of being informed what is meant by the term meditation (Yoga), by understanding which I may behold the Supreme Being, the upholder of the universe.

¹ Both study of the Vedas (Swâdhyâya) and abstraction (Yoga) are to be practised. When a man is weary of one, he may apply to the other. The Yoga, however, limits the practical part to silent prayer.

अपाङ्कान्तः पुनर्ध्यायेद्यानाङ्कान्तः पुनर्वपेत् ।

“Weary of meditation, let him pray inaudibly: weary of prayer, let him repeat meditation.”

अपध्यानाभियोगेन पश्येदात्मानमात्मनि ।

“By the union of prayer and meditation let him behold soul in himself.”

* *Swâdhyâya*. Vide *infra*, p. 229, note §. † *Sanyama*. ‡ *Yoga*.

§ न मांसचक्षुषा द्रष्टुं ब्रह्मभूतः स शक्यते ।

The verses quoted by the Translator are given by both the commentators, and as from the *Yoga-sâstra*.

PARĀŚARA.—I will repeat to you (Maitreya,) the explanation formerly given by Keśidhwaja to the magnanimous Khāṇḍikya, also called Janaka.*

MAITREYA.—Tell me, first, Brahman, who Khāṇḍikya was, and who was Keśidhwaja; and how it happened, that a conversation relating to (the practice of) Yoga occurred between them.

PARĀŚARA.—There was Janaka, (named) Dharmadhwa, who had two sons, Mitadhwaja and Kṛitadhwaja; and the latter was a king ever intent upon existent supreme spirit:† his son was the celebrated Keśidhwaja. The son of Mitadhwaja was Janaka, called Khāṇḍikya.‡ Khāṇḍikya was diligent in the way of works, and was renowned, on earth, for religious rites. Keśidhwaja, on the other hand, was endowed with spiritual knowledge. These two were engaged in hostilities; and Khāṇḍikya was driven from his principality by Keśidhwaja. Expelled from his dominions, he wandered, with a few followers, his priest, and his counsellors, amidst woods and mount-

* No such names occur amongst the Maithila kings of the Vishṇu Purāṇa (see Vol. III., pp. 330, *et seq.*); but, as there noticed (p. 333, note 2§), the Bhāgavata inserts them. Janaka is used as a title. Kṛitadhwaja, in some of the copies, is read Rītadhwaja.

* That is to say, Janaka, son of Khāṇḍika. In the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, IX., XIII., 20, he is called son of Mitadhwaja; and, the original of the *Vishṇu-purāṇa* being ambiguous, I have corrected accordingly Professor Wilson's "Amitadhwaja", just below. Mitadhwaja was patronymically called Khāṇḍika; and his father must have been called Khāṇḍika, with other names.

† सदाध्यात्मरतिर्गुणः ।

‡ Here, as in p. 214, *supra*, the original does not yield "Janaka, called Khāṇḍikya", but Khāṇḍikyajanaka. Also see note ., above.

§ But also see note ... , in the page referred to.

ains, where, destitute of true wisdom, he performed many sacrifices, expecting, thereby, to obtain divine truth, and to escape from death by ignorance.^{1*}

Once, whilst the best of those who are skilled in devotion† (Kesidhwaja) was engaged in devout exercises,‡ a fierce tiger slew his milch-cow,² in the lonely forest. When the Raja heard that the cow had been killed, he asked the ministering priests what form of penance would expiate the crime. They replied, that they did not know, and referred him to Kaśeru. Kaśeru.§ when the Raja consulted him, told him that he knew not, but that Śunaka would be able to tell him. Accordingly, the Raja went to Śunaka; but he replied: "I am as' unable, great king, to answer your question as Kaśeru has been; and there is no one now, upon earth, who can give you the information, except your enemy Khāṇḍikya, whom you have conquered."

Upon receiving this answer, Kesidhwaja said: "I will go, then, and pay a visit to my foe. If he kill me, no

¹ The performance of rites, as a means of salvation, is called ignorance, in the Vedas (*vide supra*, p. 211, note 1). Works are recommended as introductory to the acquirement of knowledge: it is ignorance to consider them as finite.

² Tasya dhenum (तस्य धेनुम्). One copy has Homa-dhenum, 'cow of sacrifice;' another, Dharma-dhenum, 'cow of righteousness.' The commentator explains the terms as importing the same thing,—a cow yielding milk for holy purposes, or for the butter which is poured, in oblations, upon the sacrificial fire.

* ब्रह्मविद्यामधिष्ठाय तं मुमुक्षुमविद्यया ।

† All my MSS. have the vocative योमविद्वां वर । : Yoga.

‡ The original calls him a Bhārgava, or descendant of Bhṛigu.

Dharma-dogdhrim is the only variant noticed by Śrīdhara or Ratna-garbha; and the former explains it by *homa-dhenum*.

matter; for, then, I shall obtain the reward that attends being killed in a holy cause.* If (on the contrary,) he tell me what penance to perform, then my sacrifice will be unimpaired in efficacy." Accordingly, he ascended his car, having clothed himself in the deer-skin (of the religious student), and went to the forest where the wise Khándikya resided. When Khándikya beheld him approach, his eyes reddened with rage, and he took up his bow, and said to him: "You have armed yourself with the deer-skin, to accomplish my destruction; imagining, that, in such an attire, you will be safe from me. But, fool, the deer upon whose backs this skin is seen are slain, by you and me, with sharp arrows. So will I slay you: you shall not go free, whilst I am living. You are an unprincipled felon, who have robbed me of my kingdom, and are deserving of death."† To this, Keśidhwaja answered: "I have come hither, Khándikya, to ask you to solve my doubts, and not with any hostile intention. Lay aside, therefore, both your arrow and your anger." Thus spoken to, Khándikya retired, awhile, with his counsellors and his priest, and consulted with them what course to pursue. They strongly urged him to slay Keśidhwaja, who was now in his power, and by whose death he would again become the monarch of the whole earth. Khándikya replied to them: "It is, no doubt, true, that, by such an act, I should become the monarch of the whole earth. He, however, would, thereby, conquer

• स चाह तं प्रयाम्येष प्रहृमात्मरिपुं मुने ।

प्राप्त एव मया यज्ञो यदि मां स हनिष्यति ॥

† The translation is free hereabouts, as 'throughout the rest of the Chapter.

the world to come; whilst the earth would be mine. Now, if I do not kill him, I shall subdue the next world, and leave him this earth. It seems to me, that this world is not of more value than the next: for the subjugation of the next world endures for ever; the conquest over this is but for a brief season. I will, therefore, not kill him, but tell him what he wishes to know."

Returning, then, to Keśidhwaja, Khándikya* desired him to propose his question, which he promised to answer; and Keśidhwaja related to him what had happened,—the death of the cow,†—and demanded to know what penance he should perform. Khándikya, in reply, explained to him, fully, the expiation that was suited to the occasion; and Keśidhwaja then, with his permission, returned to the place of sacrifice, and regularly fulfilled every necessary act. Having completed the ceremony, with its supplementary rites, Keśidhwaja accomplished all his objects. But he then reflected thus: "The priests whom I invited to attend have, all, been duly honoured; all those who had any request to make have been gratified by compliance with their desires; all that is proper for this world has been effected by me. Why, then, should my mind feel as if my duty had been unfulfilled?" So meditating, he remembered that he had not presented to Khándikya the gift that it is becoming to offer to a spiritual preceptor: and, mounting his chariot, he immediately set off to the thick forest where that sage abode. Khándikya, upon his reappearance, assumed his weapons, to kill him. But Keśidhwaja exclaimed: "Forbear,

* The original has Khándikyajanaka.

† *Dharma-dhenu*.

venerable sage. I am not here to injure you, Kháñdikya. Dismiss your wrath; and know that I have come hither to offer you that remuneration which is due to you, as my instructor. Through your lessons I have fully completed my sacrifice; and I am, therefore, desirous to give you a gift. Demand what it shall be."

Kháñdikya, having once more communed with his counsellors, told them the purpose of his rival's visit, and asked them what he should demand. His friends recommended him to require his whole kingdom back again; as kingdoms are obtained, by prudent men, without conflicting hosts. The reflecting king Kháñdikya laughed, and replied to them; "Why should a person such as I be desirous of a temporary earthly kingdom? Of a truth, you are able counsellors in the concerns of this life; but of those of the life to come you are, assuredly, ignorant." So speaking, he went back to Kesidhwaja, and said to him: "Is it true that you wish to make me a gift, as to your preceptor?" "Indeed, I do," answered Kesidhwaja. "Then," rejoined Kháñdikya, "as it is known that you are learned in the spiritual learning that teaches the doctrine of the soul, if you will communicate that knowledge to me, you will have discharged your debt to your instructor. Declare to me what acts are efficacious for the alleviation of human affliction."*

* बाहमित्येव तेनीतः खाण्डिक्खसमथाप्रवीत् ।
 भवानध्यातुविज्ञानपरमार्थविषयः ॥
 यदि चेद्दीयते मह्यं भवता गुह्यनिष्कथः ।
 तत्क्षेशप्रश्नमाचार्यं यत्कर्म तदुदीरय ॥

CHAPTER VII.

Keśidhwaja describes the nature of ignorance, and the benefits of the Yoga or contemplative devotion. Of the novice and the adept in the performance of the Yoga. How it is performed. The first stage, proficiency in acts of restraint and moral duty: the second, particular mode of sitting: the third, Prāṇāyāma, modes of breathing: the fourth, Pratyāhāra, restraint of thought: the fifth, apprehension of spirit:* the sixth, retention of the idea. Meditation on the individual and universal forms of Vishṇu. Acquirement of knowledge. Final liberation.

“BUT,” said Keśidhwaja, “why have you not asked of me my kingdom, now free from all annoyance? What else except dominion is acceptable to the warrior race?” “I will tell you,” replied Khāṇḍikya, “why I did not make such a demand: nor require that territory which is an object of ignorant ambition. It is the duty of the warrior to protect his subjects (in peace), and to kill, in fight, the enemies of his sway. It is no fault, that you should have taken my kingdom from one who was unable to defend it, to whom it was a bondage, and who was, thus, freed from the incumbrance of ignorance. My desire of dominion originated in my being born to possess it. The ambition of others, which proceeds from (human) frailties, is not compatible with virtue. To solicit gifts is not the duty of a prince and warrior; and, for these reasons, I have not asked for your kingdom, nor made a demand which ignorance

* By referring to note †, in p. 240, *infra*, it will be seen that *yama* and *niyama* are the first and second stages, while “apprehension of spirit”, *bhāvanā*, should not be counted as a stage.

alone would have suggested.* Those only who are destitute of knowledge, whose minds are engrossed by selfishness,† who are intoxicated with the inebriating beverage of self-sufficiency,‡ desire kingdoms,—not such as I am.”

When King Kesidhwaja heard these words, he was much pleased, and exclaimed: “It is well-spoken.” § Then, addressing Khándikya|| affectionately, he said: “Listen to my words. Through desire of escaping death by the ignorance of works, I exercise the regal power, celebrate various sacrifices, and enjoy pleasures subversive of purity. Fortunate is it for you, that your mind has attached itself to the dominion of discrimination. Pride of your race! now listen to the real nature of ignorance. The (erroneous) notion that self consists in what is not self, and the opinion that property consists in what is not one’s own,¶ constitute the double seed of the tree of ignorance. The ill-judging embodied being, bewildered by the darkness of fascination, situated in a body composed of the five elements, loudly asserts ‘This is I.’ But who would ascribe spiritual individuality to a body in which soul is distinct from the ether, air, fire, water, and earth, (of

* न याद्या चचवन्धूनां धर्मो ह्येतत्सतां मतम् ।

अतो न याचितं राज्यमविद्यामर्गतं तव ॥

The translation of the a large part of the present Chapter is not at all close.

† *Mamata*.

‡ *Ahañ-māna*.

§ ‘Enough!’ साधीति ग्राह । A sacred license of grammar is here taken, as is remarked by the commentators

|| The original has Khándikyajanaka.

¶ अस्मै स्वमिति या मतिः ।

which that body is composed)?¹ What man of understanding assigns to disembodied* spirit corporeal fruition, or houses, lands, and the like, that it should say 'These are mine'? What wise man entertains the idea of property in sons or grandsons, begotten of the body, after the spirit has abandoned it?† Man performs all acts, for the purpose of bodily fruition; and the consequence of such acts is another body; so that their result is nothing but confinement to bodily existence. In the same manner as a mansion of clay is plastered with clay and water, so the body, which is of earth, is perpetuated by earth and water, (or by eating and drinking). The body, consisting of the five elements, is nourished by substances equally composed of those elements. But, since this is the case, what is there in this life that man should be proud of?§ Travelling the path of the world for many thousands of births, man attains only the weariness of bewilderment, and is smothered by the dust of imagination.¶ When that dust is

¹ The text is somewhat obscure; but it is, in some degree, cleared up by the next illustration. No one would think of applying the property of self—the idea of possession, or personality, —to soul separated from body. But the objection is equally applicable to soul in the body; for, whilst there, it is as distinct, in its nature, from the materials of body, as if it was disembodied, and quite as incapable of individual personal fruition.

* *Adeha.*

† This clause is to render अनात्मनि कसेवे ।

: देहस्थानो यदा पुंसस्य दाम्नाय तत्परम् ।

§ I find no Sanskrit answering to this sentence.

|| *Samsāra.*

¶ *Vāsanā.*

washed away by the bland * water of (real) knowledge, then the weariness of bewilderment sustained by the wayfarer through repeated births is removed. When that weariness is relieved, the internal man is at peace, and he obtains that supreme felicity which is unequalled and undisturbed.† This soul is (of its own nature,) pure, and composed of happiness; and wisdom. The properties of pain, ignorance, and impurity are those of nature (Prakṛiti), not of soul. There is no affinity between fire and water; but, when the latter is placed over the former, in a caldron, it bubbles, and boils, and exhibits the properties of fire.§ In like manner, when soul is associated with Prakṛiti, it is vitiated by egotism and the rest, and assumes the qualities of grosser nature, although essentially distinct from them, and incorruptible. • Such is the seed of ignorance, as I have explained it to you. There is but one cure of worldly sorrows, the practice of devotion: no other is known.”**

“Then,” said Khāṇḍikya, “do you, who are the chief of those versed in contemplative devotion, explain to me what that is: for in the race of the descendants of Nimi,¹†† you are best acquainted with the sacred writ-

¹ That is, in the race of princes of Mithilā.

* *Ushā*.

† अग्न्यातिशयाबाधं परं निर्वाणमुच्छति ।

‡ *Nirvāṇa-maya*.

§ जलस्य नाग्निसंसर्गः स्थालीसंगात्तथापि हि ।

शब्दोद्भेदादिकान्धर्मास्तत्करोति यथा मुने ॥

Ahaṁ-māna.

¶ *Avyaya*. See Vol. I., p. 17, note •.

** क्लेशानां च चक्षकरं योगादन्यत्र विद्यते ।

†† See Vol. III., pp. 259 and 327.

ings in which it is taught." "Hear," replied Keśidhwa-
ja, "the account of the nature of contemplative devo-
tion,¹ which I impart to you, and by perfection in which
the sage attains resolution into Brahma, and never suf-
fers birth again.* The mind of man is the cause both
of his bondage and his liberation: its addiction to the
objects of sense is the means of his bondage; its separa-
tion from objects of sense† is the means of his free-
dom. The sage who is capable of discriminative know-
ledge must, therefore, restrain his mind from all the
objects of sense, and therewith meditate upon the Su-

¹ The term Yoga (योग), which is that used in the text, in its
literal acceptation signifies 'union,' 'junction,' from युज् 'to join'
in a spiritual sense, it denotes "union of separated with universal
soul;" and, with some latitude of expression, it comes to signify
the means by which such union is effected. In the Bhagavad Gita,
it is variously applied, but, ordinarily, denotes the performance
of religious ceremonies as a duty, and not for interested purposes.
Thus, Kṛishṇa says to Arjuna:

योगश्चः कुर्व कर्माणि संगं त्यक्त्वा धनञ्जय ।

सिद्धसिद्धोः समो भूत्वा समत्वं योग उच्यते ॥

"Engaging in Yoga, perform rites, Dhananjaya, being indifferent
to success or failure. Such indifference is called Yoga." II., verse
48. It is elsewhere defined "exemption from the contact of pain:

दुःखसंयोगवियोगं योगसंज्ञितम् । VI., verse 23. The word has been,
accordingly, rendered 'devotion', by Wilkins, and 'devotio', by
Schlegel, in their translations of the Gita. In this place, however,
it is used in a less general sense, and signifies, as is subsequently
explained, reunion with spirit, through the exercises necessary to
perfect abstraction, as they are taught and practised by the fol-
lowers of Patanjali.

* यच्च स्थितो न च्यवते प्राप्य ब्रह्मलयं मुनिः ।

† *Nirvishaya.*

preme Being,—who is one with spirit,—in order to attain liberation.* For that Supreme Spirit† attracts (to itself) him who meditates upon it, and who is of the same nature; as the loadstone attracts the iron by the virtue which is common to itself and to its products.¹ Contemplative devotion is the union with Brahma, effected by that condition of mind which has attained perfection through those exercises which complete the control of self;² and he whose contemplative devotion

¹ This illustration is, however, only to a limited extent explanatory of the nature of Yoga; for, though the loadstone and iron unite, by virtue of a community of kind, yet the union that takes place is only that of contiguity. Sanyoga (संयोग), not that of identification or unity. Tad-aikya (तदैक्य). Some further explanation, therefore, is required.

² The first stage is the Ātma-prayatna, the practice of moral and religious restraint,—Yama, Niyama, &c. When the novice is perfect in these, then he is fit to attain the perfectibility of an adept, through the especial practices which treatises on the Yoga prescribe. When the mind has attained the state which can alone be attained through them, then the union with Brahma, which is the consequence, is called Yoga:

आत्मप्रयत्नसपेक्षा विशिष्टा या मनोवृत्तिः ।

तस्या ब्रह्मणि संयोगो योग इत्यभिधीयते ॥

The Ātma-prayatna is defined ¶ to be that which has Yama, &c.

विषयेभ्यः समाहृत्य विज्ञानाद्वा मनो मुनिः ।

चित्तियेभ्युक्तये तेन ब्रह्मभूतं परेश्वरम् ॥

† "Supreme Spirit" is for Brahma.

‡ विकार्यमात्मनः शक्त्या लोहमाकर्षको यथा ।

§ Vide *infra*, p. 230, notes • and †.

¶ This is the original of the passage to which the Translator's note is attached.

¶ By the commentator Śrīdhara, whom Ratnagarbha here closely follows.

is characterized by the property of such absolute perfection is, in truth, a sage, expectant of final liberation from the world.*

"The sage (or Yogin), when first applying himself to contemplative devotion, is called the (novice or) practitioner (Yoga-yuj); when he has attained spiritual union,† he is termed (the adept, or) he whose meditations are accomplished.‡ Should the thoughts of the

for its object, यमनियमादिविषयः । The next phrase, तत्सापेक्षा, is explained तदधीना 'depending upon, or relating to, such control.' मनोवृत्तिः is the same as मनोवृत्तिः, condition or state of mind which is विशिष्टा, 'perfected:' of that state of mind union with Brahma is Yoga. Union with Brahma is the abstraction that proposes the identity of the living with the supreme spirit, - of the Jivātman; with Brahma: जीवात्मब्रह्मैकविषयत्वम् । And Yoga is understanding of the identity of the contemplator and the object contemplated: ध्यातृध्येयैकधीः । A text of Yājñavalkya§ is quoted to this effect:

ज्ञानं योगात्मकं विद्धि योगश्चाष्टाङ्गसंयुतः ।

संयोगो योग इत्युक्तो जीवात्मपरमात्मनोः ॥

"Know holy wisdom to be the same with Yoga, (the practice of) which has eight divisions. That which is termed Yoga is union of the living with the supreme soul."

¶ Vinishpanna-samādhi ¶ is the expression of the text, which can scarcely be regarded as an appellative. The commentator terms the adept Brahma-jnānin, "he who knows Brahma."

* स वै योगी मुमुक्षुरभिधीयते ।

† परब्रह्मोपकथ्यमान् ।

‡ See Vol. IV., p. 253, note •.

§ Corrected from "Yajnyawalkya". With reference to Yājñavalkya, vide *infra*, p. 230, note •.

¶ By Ratnagarbha. •

¶ Samādhi is rendered "abstraction", in Vol. II., p. 315.

former be unvitiated by any obstructing imperfection, he will obtain freedom,* after practising devotion through several lives.† The latter speedily obtains liberation in that existence (in which he reaches perfection), all his acts being consumed by the fire of contemplative devotion. The sage who would bring his mind into a fit state for (the performance of) devout contemplation must be devoid of desire,‡ and observe (invariably,) continence, compassion, truth, honesty, and disinterestedness: he must fix his mind intently on the supreme Brahma, practising holy study,§ purification, contentment, penance, and self-control.¶ These

* After three lives, according to the Vāyu Samhitā, as quoted in the comment. ¶

* Mukti.

† Nishkāma.

‡ Compare Vol. III., p. 77, note 1; also, Vol. IV., p. 294, notes 1 and 2. *Ahimsā, asṭeya,* and *aparigraha* I should render 'not killing', 'not thieving', and 'not coveting', rather than "compassion", "honesty", and "disinterestedness".

§ *Śvādhyāya*, "the murmuring of sacred texts." In the *Rāja-mārtanda* we find the following definition, in explanation of the *Yoga-śāstra*, II., 1: स्वाध्यायः। प्रणवपूर्वाणां मन्त्राणां जपः। The *Sūtrārtha-chandrikā* has: स्वाध्यायः। श्लोकारपूर्वकमन्त्राणां जपः।

स्वाध्यायश्चैव संतोषतपांसि नियतात्मवान् ।

कुर्वीत ब्रह्मणि तथा परस्मिन्प्रवणं मनः ॥

The Translator should not have rendered नियतात्मवान् as if, it denoted "self-control". The fifth observance is प्रवर्णं मनः,—the Translator's "mind intently",—which is equivalent, the scholiasts say, to *pranidhāna*, 'persevering devotion.' See the *Yoga-śāstra*, II., 32.

¶ By Ratnagarbha, as follows:

अल्पाभ्यासोऽपि यो मर्त्यः सोऽपि जन्मचयात्परम् ।

न योनियन्त्रपीडयै पुनरेति न संशयः ॥

(virtues), respectively termed the five acts of restraint* (Yama), and five of obligation† (Niyama), bestow excellent rewards, when practised for the sake of reward, and eternal liberation, when they are not prompted by desire (of transient benefits).: Endowed with these merits, the sage,§ self-restrained, should sit in one of the modes termed Bhadrāsana, &c., and engage in contemplation.¹ Bringing his vital airs, called Prāṇa, under subjection, by frequent repetition, is, thence, called Prāṇāyāma, which is, as it were, a seed with a seed.² In this, the breath of expiration

¹ There are various postures in which the Yogin is directed to sit, when he engages in meditation. In the Bhadrāsana, he is directed to cross his legs underneath him, and to lay hold of his feet, on each side, with his hands.

² सबीजो बीज एव च।³ It is, itself, figuratively, the seed of the fruit, which is meditation; but it is to be accompanied with what is also technically called Bija (or seed), - inaudible rep-

* 'Forbearance' is more exact. † 'Religious observance' is preferable.

: विशिष्टफलदाः काम्या निष्कामानां विमुक्तिदाः ।

§ Yati.

[The commentators cite, in description of this posture, a stanza from Yājñavalkya. Perhaps it is taken from the *Yājñavalkya-gīta*, for which see my *Contribution towards an Index to the Bibliography of the Indian Philosophical Systems*, p. 14.

Besides the *bhadrāsana*, the Yoga philosophy prescribes postures denominated *padmāsana*, *śvastikāsana*, *vajrāsana*, and *vīrasana*. These seem to be the principal out of an aggregate said to consist of eighty-four, among which are the *siddhāsana*, *kaṇṭhāsana*, *dandāsana*, &c.

¶ Correctly, सबीजोऽबीज एव च, 'with a seed, and also without a seed'. The term 'seed' is here, of course, a technicality.

Samādhi, as *sahja* and as *nirbija*, is spoken of in the *Yoga-sāstra*, l. 46 and 50. The abstract meditation referred to is, in other words, divided into that in which there is distinct recognition of an object, and that in which there is not such recognition.

See, further, note : in the following page.

and that of inspiration* are alternately obstructed, constituting the act twofold; and the suppression† of both (modes of breathing) produces a third.¹ The exercise of the Yogin, whilst endeavouring to bring before his thoughts the gross form of the eternal, is denominated *Ālambana*.² He is then to perform the

tion of certain prayers, and meditation on the visible form of the deity,—termed, likewise, *Ālambana*, and presently mentioned. §

¹ *Prāṇāyāma* is performed by three modifications of breathing. The first act is expiration, which is performed through the right nostril, whilst the left is closed with the fingers of the right hand: this is called *Rechaka*. The thumb is then placed upon the right nostril, and the fingers raised from the left, through which breath is inhaled: this is called *Pūraka*. In the third act, both nostrils are closed, and breathing suspended, this is *Kumbhaka*. And a succession of these operations is the practice of *Prāṇāyāma*. ||

² *Ālambana* is the silent repetition of prayer. ¶

* *Prāṇa* and *apāna*.

† *Saṁyama*.

: तस्य चालम्बनवतः स्खलं रूपं दिव्योत्तम ।

आलम्बनमननस्य योगिनोऽभ्यसतः कुतश्च ॥

“And, as regards the Yogin practising meditation with a rest for his thoughts, as he feels after the Supreme, the gross aspect of the Infinite—*i.e.* *Īranyagarbha*, etc.,—is prescribed as the rest, O best of Brāhmins.”

See the beginning of Annotation * in the preceding page. On the words there quoted Ratnagarbha says: सवीजः । सालम्बनः । मन्त्रवप-
धानसहितः । And Śrīdhara writes to the same effect. It is now evident how the Translator came to misunderstand the sense of *bija* and *ālambana*. The commentators begin their gloss on the stanza cited above with the words: तच्च सवीजस्सालम्बनमाह ।

§ This view of the meaning of *bija* and *ālambana* is quite a misapprehension. See the preceding note.

Both Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha have the substance of this note.

The Translator has previously rendered *prāṇāyāma* by “suppression of breath,” “austerity,” and “ascetic practices”. See Vol. II., pp. 89 and 272; Vol. III., p. 55. Its exact meaning is ‘regulation of the breath’.

The third division of the *prāṇāyāma*, the *kumbhaka*, has its name from *kumbha*, ‘a jar’; inasmuch as, on its taking place, the vital airs are stationary, like water in a jar. ¶ See note :, above.

Pratyāhāra, which consists in restraining his organs of sense* from susceptibility to outward impressions, and directing them entirely to mental perceptions. By these means the entire subjugation of the unsteady senses is effected; and, if they are not controlled, the sage will not accomplish his devotions. When, by the Prāṇāyāma, the vital airs are restrained, and the senses are subjugated by the Pratyāhāra, then the sage will be able to keep his mind steady in its perfect asylum.†

Khāṇḍikya then said (to Keśidhwaja): “Illustrious sage, inform me what is that perfect asylum of the mind; resting on which, it destroys all the products of (human) infirmity.” To this, Keśidhwaja replied: “The asylum of mind is spirit (Brahma), which, of its own nature, is twofold, as being with, or without, form; and each of these is supreme and secondary.‡

‘आश्रयश्चेतसो ब्रह्म द्विधा तच्च स्वरूपतः § ।

भूय मूर्त्तममूर्त्तं च परं चापरमेव च ॥

The Brahma that is without form (Amūrta) may be Para or Apara. Supreme formless spirit is without attributes of any kind. Secondary formless spirit is invested with the attributes of power, glory, truth, perfection. Spirit embodied, or with form in his highest state, is, according to our text, Vishnu and his manifestations. Spirit, in an inferior or secondary series of bodily forms is Brahmā and all other living beings. ¶

* *Aksha*.

† ततः कुर्यात्स्थिरं चेतः शुभाश्रये ।

‡ *Chetas*, as above, and so below

§ The ordinary reading is स्वभावतः ।

|| Variant. भूतमूर्त्तममूर्त्तम् ।

¶ This note is gleaned, with additions and variations, from the commentaries.

Apprehension of spirit,¹ again, is threefold. I will explain the different kinds to you. They are: that which is called Brahma, that which is named from works, and that which comprehends both. That (mental apprehension) which consists of Brahma is one; that which is formed of works is another; and that which comprehends both is the third: so that mental apprehension* (of the object or asylum of the thoughts) is threefold. Sanandana and other (perfect sages) were endowed with apprehension of the nature† of Brahma. The gods and others, whether animate or inanimate, are possessed of that which regards acts.: The apprehension that comprehends both works and spirit exists in Hiraṇyagarbha§ and others, who are possessed of contemplative knowledge, of their own nature, and who, also, exercise certain active functions, as creation and the rest. Until all acts, which are

¹ The term is Bhāvanā, defined to be "function to be engendered by knowledge." ज्ञानजन्यः संस्कारः*, the mental impression or apprehension following upon knowledge. Here it implies, in particular, the formation of a fixed idea, by the Yogin, of the object of his contemplations. It is also termed Bhāva-bhāvanā, "apprehension of the being, the existence, or substantiality, of the object; the thing contemplated:" भावभावना । भावो वस्तु तद्विषया भावना ।**

* भावभावना ।

† Here, "apprehension," &c. is to render भावभावना ।

‡ कर्मभावना ।

§ A name of Brahma.

हिरण्यगर्भादिषु च ब्रह्मकर्मवृत्तिका द्विधा ।

बोधाधिकारयुक्तेषु विद्यते भावभावना ॥

* Ratnagarbha.

** Śrīdhara.

the causes of notions of individuality, are discontinued, spirit is one thing, and the universe is another, to those who contemplate objects as distinct and various.* But that is called true knowledge, or knowledge of Brahma, which recognizes no distinctions, which contemplates only simple existence, which is undefinable by words, and is to be discovered solely in one's own spirit.† That is the supreme, unborn, imperishable form of Vishṇu, who is without (sensible) form, and is characterized as a condition of the supreme soul, which is variously modified from the condition of universal form.‡ But this (condition) cannot be contemplated by sages in their (early) devotions;§ and they must, therefore, direct their minds to the gross form of Hari, which is of universal perceptibility. They must meditate upon him as Hiraṇyagarbha, as the glorious¶ Vāsava, as Prajāpati, as the winds,** the Vasus, the Rudras, the suns, stars, planets, Gandharvas, Yakshas, Daityas, all the gods and their progenitors,†† men, animals,‡‡ mountains, oceans, rivers, trees, all beings, and all sources of beings, all modifications whatever

* अक्षीणेषु समक्षेषु विशेषज्ञानकर्मसु ।
विश्वमेतत्परं चान्यद्भेदभिन्नदृशं नृप ॥

† प्रत्यक्षमितमेदं यत्सत्तामात्रमगोचरम् ।
वक्षसामात्रसंविद्यं तज्ज्ञानं ब्रह्मसंज्ञितम् ॥

‡ विश्वस्वरूपविरूप्यलक्षणं परमात्मनः ।

§ This expansion is to represent *yoga-yuj*, for which see p 228, *supra*.
Vidua-gochara.

¶ *Bhagavat*.

** *Marut*.

†† सकला देवयोनिः । "

‡‡ *Paśu*.

of nature and its products,* whether sentient or unconscious, one-footed, two-footed, or many-footed.† All these are the sensible: form of Hari, to be apprehended by the three kinds of apprehension. All this universal world, this (world) of moving and stationary beings, is pervaded by the energy of Vishnú, who is of the nature of the supreme Brahma. This energy is either supreme, or, when it is that of conscious embodied spirit,§ it is secondary. Ignorance, or that which is denominated from works, is a third energy,¹ by which the omnipresent energy of embodied spirit is ever excited, and whence it suffers all the pains of repeated worldly existence. Obscured by that (energy of ignorance or illusion), the energy that is denominated from embodied spirit is characterized by different degrees of perfection, in all created beings. In things without life, it exists in a very small degree:

¹ The term used, throughout, is Śakti (शक्ति), 'power,' 'ability,' 'energy.' By the first kind, or Parā, is understood knowledge able to appreciate abstract truth, or the nature of universal soul; by the second, ability to understand the nature of embodied soul; and, by the third, inability to discern one's own nature, and reliance on moral or ceremonial merit. These different kinds are called energies, because they are the energies or faculties of the Supreme Spirit, or, according to the Vaishnavas, of Vishnú, accompanying soul in all its various conditions of existence.

* प्रधानादिविशेषात्मम् ।

† Add "or footless": अपादकम् ।

‡ *Mirra*.

§ विचक्षात्मा ।

‡ As stones and the like, Ratnagarbha says.

it is more, in things that (have life, but) are without motion;* in insects,† it is still more abundant; and still more, in birds; it is more in wild animals;‡ and, in domestic animals,§ the faculty is still greater. Men have more of this (spiritual) faculty than animals; and thence arises their authority over them: the faculty exists, in an ascending degree, in Nāgas, Gandharvas, Yakshas, gods, Śakra, Prajāpati, and Hiraṇyagarbha, and is, above all, predominant in that male (Vishṇu) of whom all these various creatures are but the diversified forms, penetrated universally by his energy, - as all-pervading as the ether.¶

"The second¹ state of him who is called Vishṇu, and which is to be meditated upon by the (advanced) sage, is that (imperceptible,) shapeless** form of Brahma, which is called, by the wise 'That which is,'² and in which all the before-described energies reside. Thence proceeds the form of the universal form, the other great form of Hari, which is the origin of

¹ The first, which has been intended to be described in the foregoing passages, was the universal, visible form of Vishṇu; the second is his formless or imperceptible condition.

² Sat (सत्). "what is being."

* *Sthāvara*. Ratnagarbha explains that trees, &c. are intended.

† *Sarīrīpa*, which the Translator generally renders "reptiles". *Ud supra*, p. 59, note ††: and p. 94, note ††.

‡ *Mṛiga*.

§ *Paśu*.

पशुभ्यो मनुजाश्चातिशक्त्या पुंसः प्रभाविताः ।

¶ एतान्यशेषरूपाणि तस्य रूपाणि पार्थिव ।

यतस्तत्त्वशक्तियोगेन युक्तानि नभसा यथा ॥

** *Amūrta*.

those manifested forms (or incarnations) that are endowed with every kind of energy, and which, whether the forms of gods, animals, or men, are assumed by him (Hari,) in his sport. This active interposition of the undefinable god, all-comprehending and irresistible, is for the purpose of benefiting the world, and is not the necessary consequence of works.* This form of the universal form is to be meditated upon by the sage,† for the object of purification; as it destroys all sin. In the same manner as fire, (blazing) in the wind, burns dry grass: so Vishnú, seated in the heart, consumes the sins of the sage: and, therefore, let him (resolutely) effect the fixation of his mind upon that receptacle of all the (three) energies, (Vishnú): for that is (the operation of the mind which is called) perfect Dháraná:‡ and, thus, the perfect asylum§ of individual, as well as universal, spirit, that which is beyond the three modes of apprehension, is attained, for the (eternal) emancipation of the sage. The minds of other beings, which are not fixed upon that asylum, are altogether impure, and are all the gods and the rest, who spring from acts.¶ The retention or apprehen-

* Retention, or holding of the image or idea formed in the mind by contemplation: from Dhri (धृ), 'to hold,' literally or figuratively.

* These two sentences are a very free rendering.

† Read 'the novice'; the original being *yoja-yuj*. Vide *supra*, p. 228.

‡ *Kaksha*, 'dry wood.'

§ शुभाश्रयः ।

भावभावना ।

¶ अन्ये तु पुरुषव्याघ्र चेतसो ये व्यपाश्रयाः ।

अशुद्धास्ते समस्तास्तु देवाद्याः कर्मयोगिनयः ॥

sion, by the mind, of that visible form of Vishnú, without regard to subsidiary forms, is, thence, called Dhāraṇā;* and I will describe to you the perceptible† form of Hari, which no mental retention will manifest, except in a mind that is fit to become the receptacle of the idea.¹ The meditating sage must think (he beholds internally the figure) of Vishnú, as having a pleased and lovely countenance, with eyes like the leaf of the lotos, smooth cheeks,§ and a broad and brilliant forehead; ears of equal size, the lobes of which are decorated with splendid pendants; a painted neck; and a broad breast, on which shines the Śrīvatsa* mark; a belly falling in graceful folds, with a deep-seated navel;** eight long arms, or else four; and firm and well-knit thighs and legs, with well-formed feet and toes. Let him, with well-governed thoughts, con-

¹ The explanation of Dhāraṇā given in the text is rendered unnecessarily perplexed by the double doctrine here taught, and the attempt to combine the abstractions of Yoga theism with the sectarian worship of Vishnú.

* मूर्तिं भगवतो रूपं सर्वापाश्रयनिस्तुहम् ।
एषा वै धारणा ज्ञेया यच्चित्तं तत्र धारयेत् ॥

In *dhāraṇā*, or 'fixed attention', no mediate rest is required, such as is spoken of in note ‡ to p. 231, *supra*.

† *Mūrti*.

∴ तत्र मूर्तिं हरे रूपं यादृक्स्थितं नराधिप ।
तच्छ्रूयतामनाधारे धारणा नोपपद्यते ॥

§ *Su-kapola*.

? The original has कम्प्ययीवम् । Śrīdhara and Ratnagarbha say रेखापयाङ्कितकण्ठम् ।

¶ See p. 5, and p. 124, note ¶, *supra*.

** वक्षीचिभङ्गिना मयनाभिना चोदरेण वै ।

template, as long as he can persevere in unremitting attention, Hari,* as clad in a yellow robe, wearing a (rich) diadem (on his head), and brilliant armlets and bracelets† (on his arms), and bearing (in his hands) the bow, the shell, the mace, the sword, the discus, the rosary,‡ the lotos, and the arrow.¹§ When this image never departs from his mind, whether he be going, or standing, or be engaged in any other voluntary act, then he may believe his retention to be perfect. The sage may then meditate upon the form of Vishṇu¶ without (his arms, — as) the shell, mace, discus, and bow,—and as placid, and bearing (only) his rosary.** When the idea of this image is firmly retained, then†† he may meditate on Vishṇu without his diadem, bracelets,‡‡ or other ornaments. He may, next, contemplate him as having but one single limb, and may then fix his whole thoughts§§ upon the body to which the limbs belong. This process of forming a lively image in the mind, exclusive of all other objects, constitutes

¹ The two last implements are from the comment: the text specifies only six.

• चिन्तयेत्तन्मना योगी समाधायात्ममानसम् ।
तावद्यावद्धृदीभूत्वा तत्रैव नृप धारणा ॥

† *Keyūra* and *kufaka*.

‡ *Aksha-valaya*.

§ *Vide supra*, pp. 124 and 149.

Budha.

¶ *Bhagavat*, in the original.

** *Aksha-sutraka*

†† सा यदा धारणा तद्वदवस्थानवती ततः ।

‡‡ *Keyūra*.

§§ प्रधानपरो भवेत् ।

Dhyāna (or meditation), which is perfected by six stages;¹ and, when an accurate knowledge of self, free from all distinction, is attained by this mental meditation, that is termed Samādhi.²*

¹ They are :† 1. Yama, &c., acts of restraint and obligation; 2. Āsana, sitting in particular postures;§ 3. Prāṇayāma, modes of breathing; 4. Pratyāhāra, exclusion of all external ideas;¶ 5. Bhāvana, apprehension of internal ideas; ** 6. Dhāraṇā, fixation or retention of those ideas.††

² The result of the Dhyāna or Samādhi:: is the absence of all idea of individuality, when the meditator, the meditation, and the thing or object meditated upon are, all, considered to be but one. According to the text of Patanjali: "Restraint of the body, retention of the mind, and meditation, which, thence, is exclusively confined to one object, is Dhyāna. The idea of identification with the object of such meditation, so as if devoid of individual nature, is Samādhi." देहबन्धस्युत्तधारणा तत्प्रत्ययिकतानता ध्यानम् । तदेकार्थमात्रनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः । §§

तद्वपप्रत्ययये चेका संततिश्चान्यनिस्युहा ।
तद्व्यानं प्रथमैरङ्गैः षड्भिर्निष्पाद्यते नृप ॥
तस्यैव कल्पनाहीनं स्वरूपग्रहणं हि यत् ।
मनसा ध्याननिष्पाद्यं समाधिः सोऽभिधीयते ॥

† I do not know whence this classification is taken; and I doubt its correctness exceedingly. According to the *Yoga-sāstra*, II., 29, the six stages preceding *dhyāna* are *yama*, *niyama*, *āsana*, *prāṇayāma*, *pratyāhāra*, and *dhāraṇā*. *Yama* and *niyama* can scarcely, from their very nature, be taken as parts of a whole; and *bhāvana* is not at all a stage subservient to the attainment of *yoga*.

∴ *Vide supra*, p. 230, notes * and †.

§ *Ibid.*, note .

| *Ibid.*, p. 231, note .

¶ *Ibid.* p. 232.

** *Ibid.*, p. 233, note 1.

†† *Ibid.*, p. 238, note .

:: These, 'contemplation', and 'meditation', are never to be considered as synonyms. See note †, above.

§§ Here we have an extract from the *Yoga-sāstra*,—III., 1—3. These

“(When the Yogin has accomplished this stage, he acquires) discriminative knowledge, which is the means of enabling living soul, when all the three kinds of apprehension are destroyed, to attain the attainable supreme Brahma.^{1*} Embodied spirit is the user of the instrument, which instrument is true knowledge; and, by it, that (identification) of the former (with Brahma) is attained.² Liberation, which is the object to be effected, being accomplished, discriminative knowledge ceases. When endowed with the apprehension of the nature of the object of inquiry,† then

¹ The expressions of the text are somewhat obscure; nor does the commentator; make them much more intelligible, until he cuts the matter short, by stating the meaning to be, that “discriminative knowledge enables the living spirit to attain Brahma:”
विज्ञानं जीवात्मानं ब्रह्म प्रापयतीत्यर्थः ।

² The text is very elliptical and obscure. Having stated that embodied spirit (Kshetragna) is the Karānin, the possessor or user of the Karāna, which is knowledge, it adds तेन तस्य तत्, literally, “by that, of that, that;” i. e., Tat, “that which is;” and Brahma, or supreme spirit, is the attainment of that spirit which abides in body by that instrument, or discriminative knowledge, of which it has become possessed through perfect meditation:

चेचक्षः करणी ज्ञानं करणं तेन तस्य तत् ।

निष्पाद्य मुक्तिकार्यं वै कृतकृत्यान्नवर्तते ॥

विज्ञानं निवर्तते ।

aphorisms are read as follows देशबन्धश्चित्तस्य धारणा । तत्र ब्रह्मये-
कतानता ध्यानम् । तदेवार्थमाचनिर्भासं स्वरूपशून्यमिव समाधिः ।
Thus we have definitions of dhāraṇa, dhyāna, and samādhi.

* विज्ञानं प्रापकं प्राप्ये परब्रह्मणि पार्यथ्यम् ।

प्रापणीयस्तु जीवात्मा प्रसीयाशेषभावः ॥

† तन्नावभावात् ।

: Ratnagarbha.

V.

there is no difference between it (individual,) and supreme spirit: * difference is the consequence of the absence of (true) knowledge. When that ignorance which is the cause of the difference between individual and universal spirit † is destroyed, finally and for ever, who shall (ever) make that distinction (between them) which does not exist? Thus have I, Kháṇḍikya, in reply to your question, explained to you what is meant by contemplative devotion, both fully and summarily. What else do you wish to hear?"

Kháṇḍikya replied (to Keśidhwaja, and said): "The explanation which you have given me of the real nature of contemplative devotion has fulfilled all my wishes, and removed all impurity from my mind. The expression 'mine', which I have been accustomed to use, is untruth; and cannot be otherwise declared by those who know what is to be known. The words 'I' and 'mine' constitute ignorance; but practice is influenced by ignorance. Supreme truth § cannot be defined; for it is not to be explained by words. Depart, therefore, Keśidhwaja. You have done all that is necessary for my (real) happiness, in teaching me contemplative devotion, – the inexhaustible bestower of liberation from existence." ¶

Accordingly, King Keśidhwaja, after receiving suitable homage from Kháṇḍikya, returned to his city.

* Five kinds of emancipation are enumerated in the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa*, III, XXIX., 13: *sālokya*, *sārśti*, *sāmīpya*, *sārūpya*, and *ekatva*.

† The original words are *ātman* and *Brahma*.

‡ *Asat*.

§ *Paramārtha*.

¶ *Śreyas*.

¶ *Vinukti*. Vide *supra*, p. 61, note §.

Khándikya, having nominated his son Raja,¹ retired to the woods, to accomplish his devotions: his whole mind being intent upon Govinda. There, his entire thoughts being engrossed upon one only object, and being purified by practices of restraint, self-control, and the rest,* he obtained absorption into the pure and perfect spirit† which is termed Vishnu. Kesidhwaja, also, in order to (attain) liberation, became averse from his own perishable works, and lived amidst objects of sense (without regarding them), and instituted religious rites without expecting therefrom any advantages to himself.: Thus, by pure and auspicious fruition, being cleansed from (all) sin, he, also, obtained that perfection which assuages all affliction for ever.

¹ The commentator, in order to explain how Khándikya should have given what he did not possess, states that it is to be understood that Kesidhwaja relinquished to him the kingdom. Or the term Raja may denote merely "master of, or acquainted with, mystic prayers, or Mantras:" यदा राजानं मन्त्रादिस्वामिनं कृत्वा ।

* यमादिगुणशोधितः ।

† This is to render Brahma.

: केशिध्वजोऽपि मुक्त्यर्थं स्वकर्मवपणोन्मुखः ।
बुभुजे विषयान्कर्म चक्रे वानभिसंहितम् ॥

CHAPTER VIII.

Conclusion of the dialogue between Parāśara and Maitreya. Recapitulation of the contents of the Viṣṇu Purāṇa: merit of hearing it: how handed down. Praises of Viṣṇu. Concluding prayer.

I HAVE now explained to you, Maitreya, the third kind of worldly dissolution, or that which is absolute and final, which is liberation and resolution into eternal spirit.¹ I have related to you primary and secondary creation, the families (of the patriarchs), the (periods of the) Manwantaras, and the genealogical histories² (of the kings). I have repeated to you, (in short,) who were desirous of hearing it, the imperishable Vaishnava Purāṇa, which is destructive of all sins, the most excellent of all holy writings, and the means of attaining the great end of man. If there is anything else you wish to hear, propose your question, and I will answer it.

MAITREYA. - Holy teacher,[†] you have, indeed, related to me all that I wished to know; and I have listened to it with pious attention.: I have nothing further to inquire. The doubts inseparable from the

¹ The term is *Laya Brahmanī* (लयो ब्रह्मणि), which means 'a melting away,' 'a dissolution,' or 'fusion;' from the root *La* (ली), 'to liquefy,' 'to melt,' 'to dissolve.'

• *Vaṁśanucharita*.

† *Bhagavat*.

: *Bhakti*.

mind of man have, all, been resolved by you;* and, through your instructions, I am acquainted with the origin, duration, and end† of all things; with Vishnú, in his collective fourfold form;‡ his three energies;§ and with the three modes of apprehending the object of contemplation.¶ Of all this have I acquired a knowledge, through your favour; and nothing else is worthy to be known, when it is once understood that Vishnú and this world are not (mutually) distinct. Great Muni, I have obtained, through your kindness, all I desired, - the dissipation of my doubts;§ since you have instructed me in the duties of the several tribes, and in other obligations; the nature of active life, and discontinuance of action; and the derivation of all that exists from works. There is nothing else, venerable Brahman, that I have to inquire of you. And forgive me, if your answers to my questions have imposed upon you any fatigue. Pardon me the trouble

* Or with Vishnú in the four modifications described in the First Book.¶- spirit, matter, form, and time. See Vol. I., pp. 18, 19.

† Or Śakti, noticed in the last Chapter;—p. 235, *supra*.

‡ Or Bhāvanās, also described in the preceding Chapter; ¶—p. 233, *supra*.

* विच्छिन्नाः सर्वसंदेहा विमलं मनसः कृतम् ।

† *Samyama*. See Vol. I., p. 26, note *.

‡ ज्ञातस्तुर्विधो राशिः शक्तिश्च चिविधा गुरो ।

विद्याता चापि कार्त्स्न्येन चिविधा भावभावना ॥

§ *Apasandeha*.

¶ वर्णधर्मादयो धर्मा विदिता यदशेषतः ।

प्रवृत्तं च निवृत्तं च ज्ञातं कर्म मयाखिलम् ॥

¶ Substituted for "section".

that I have given you, through that amiable quality of the virtuous which makes no distinction between a disciple and a child.*

PARĀŚARA.—I have related to you this Purāṇa, which is equal to the Vedas (in sanctity), and by hearing which, all faults and sins whatever are expiated. In this have been described to you the primary and secondary creation, the families (of the patriarchs), the Manwantaras, the regal dynasties;† the gods, Daityas, Gandharvas, serpents,‡ Rākshasas, Yakshas, Vidyādharas, Siddhas, and heavenly nymphs;§ Munis endowed with spiritual wisdom, and practisers of devotion; the (distinctions of the) four castes, and the actions of the most eminent amongst men;¶ holy places on the earth, holy rivers and oceans, sacred mountains, and legends** of the (truly) wise; the duties of the different tribes, and the observances enjoined by the Vedas.†† By hearing this, all sins are, at once, obliterated. In this, also, the glorious‡‡ Hari has been revealed, —the cause of the creation, preservation, and destruction of the world; the soul of all things, and, himself, all things;§§ by the repetition of whose name man

* यदस्य कथनायासैर्योजितो ऽसि मया गुरो ।
तत्त्वम्यतां विज्ञेयो ऽस्ति न सतां पुत्रशिष्ययोः ॥

† *Vamśinucharita.*

‡ *Uraṇa.*

§ *Apsaras.*

¶ मुनयो भावितात्मानः कथ्यन्ते तपसान्विताः ।

¶ पुंसां विशिष्टचरिता नराः ।

** *Charita.*

†† वर्णधर्मादयो धर्मा वेदधर्माश्च कृत्स्नशः ।

‡‡ *Bhagavat.*

§§ *Sarva-bhūta.*

is, undoubtedly, liberated from all sins, which fly like wolves that are frightened by a lion. The repetition of his name with devout faith* is the best remover of all sins; destroying them, as fire purifies the metal (from the dross). The stain of the Kali age, which ensures to men sharp punishments in hell, is, at once, effaced by a single invocation of Hari.† He who is all that is,—the whole egg of Brahmá, with Hirañyagarbha, Indra,‡ Rudra, the Ádityas, the Áświns, the winds, the Kinnaras, the Vasus, the Sádhyas, Viśwadevas, the (celestial) gods.§ the Yakshas, serpents, Rákshasas,¶ the Siddhas, Daityas, Gandharvas, Dánavas, nymphs,** the stars, asterisms, planets, the seven Rishis,†† the regents and superintendents of the quarters,‡‡ men, Brahmans, and the rest, animals tame and wild,§§ insects, birds, ghosts and goblins,¶¶ trees, woods, mountains, rivers, oceans, the subterrene regions,***

* *Bhakti*.

† कलिकल्पमलयं नरकार्तिप्रदं नृणाम् ।

प्रयति विलयं सद्यः सकृच्चानुसंसृति ॥

‡ *Devendra*, in the original.

§ *Sura*.

¶ I do not find them named in the Sanskrit.

¶ The original yields Rakshases.

** *Apsaras*.

†† See Vol. II., p. 226.

‡‡ "The quarters and superintendents of the quarters: धिष्ण्यधिष्ण्याधिपतिभिः । The term *Dhishnyádhipati* is synonymous with *Dikpála*; for which, see Vol. III., 170, note §.

Śrīdhara—if I may judge from the single MS. of his commentary which is accessible to me,—has धिष्य°, with reference to the like of which, see Vol. IV., p. 164, note §.

§§ *Paku* and *mṛiga*.

¶¶ *Sarishipa*. Vide *supra*, p. 236, note †; also, Vol. I., p. 84, note §.

¶¶ These two terms are to render प्रेतायैः ।

*** Corrected from "legions".

the divisions of the earth, and all perceptible objects, -- he who is all things, who knoweth all things, who is the form of all things, being without form himself, and of whom whatever is, from (Mount) Meru to an atom, all consists, -- he, the glorious Vishnu, the destroyer of (all) sin, -- is described in this Purāna. By hearing this (Purāna) an equal recompense is obtained to that which is derived from the performance of an Aśwamedha sacrifice, or from fasting at (the holy places) Prayāga,* Pushkara,† Kurukshetra,‡ or Arbuda.§ Hearing this (Purāna) but once is as efficacious as the offering of oblations in a perpetual fire for a year. The man who, with well-governed passions, bathes at Mathurā, on the twelfth day of (the month) Jyeshtha,¹ and beholds (the image of) Hari, obtains a great recompense;¶ so does he who, with mind fixed upon Keśava, attentively recites this Pu-

* This month is also called Jyeshtha-mūla,* which the commentator†† explains to mean the month of which the root or cause (Mūla) of being so called is the moon's being full in the constellation Jyeshtha. But it may be so termed, perhaps, from the lunar asterism Mūla, -- which is next to Jyeshthā, -- falling, also within the moon's passage through the same month.

* See Vol. III., p. 246, note 2; and Vol. IV., p. 218, note †.

† See Vol. I., Preface, p. XXX.; and Vol. II., p. 96.

‡ See Vol. II., p. 133, note 1, and p. 142, note 4.

§ For this mountain, *vide ibid.*, p. 131, note 1, and p. 141, note 2; also, Vol. IV., p. 222, note †.

Insert "of the light fortnight".

¶ प्राप्नोति परमां गतिम् । This means, that he obtains emancipation.

** See note † in the next page.

†† Both the commentators give the ensuing explanation. See, further, Nilakantha on the *Mahābhārata*, *Anukāsana-parvan*, il. 4609.

ráña. The man who bathes in the waters of the Yamuná, on the twelfth lunation* of the light fortnight of the month in which the moon is in the mansion Jyeshthá,† and who fasts and worships Achyuta in (the city of) Mathurá, receives the reward of an uninterrupted Aswamedha. Beholding the (degree of) prosperity (enjoyed by others) of eminence, through (the merits of) their descendants, a man's paternal ancestors, his parents, and their parents exclaim: "Who-soever of our descendants, having bathed in the Yamuná,§ and fasted, will worship Govinda in Mathurá, in the light fortnight of Jyeshthá, will secure for us eminent exaltation:¶ for we shall be elevated by the merits of our posterity." A man of good extraction will present obsequial cakes to his fortunate (ancestors) in the Yamuná, having worshipped Janárdana in the light fortnight of Jyeshthá.** But the same degree of merit that a man reaps from adoring Janárdana†† at that season, with a devoted heart, and from bathing in the Yamuná, and effecting the liberation of his progenitors by offering to them (on such an occasion,) obsequial cakes, he derives, also, from hearing, with equal devotion, a section of this Purána.: This Pu-

* *Vide supra*, p. 109, note †.

† "The month", &c. is to translate *Jyeshthá-mūla*.

‡ The extract is said, by Śrīdhara, to be from the *Pitri-gītā*. See ol III., p. 66, note §: and p. 170, text and note

§ Kāṇḍī, in the original. See Vol. IV., p. 286, note *.

The original is *Jyeshthá-mūla*.

¶ *Riddhi*.

** *Jyeshthá-mūla*, in the Sanskrit.

†† The original has *Kṛishṇa*.

:: युक्ताध्यायं तदाप्नोति पुराणस्वाख्यं भक्तिमान् ।

rāṇa is the best of all preservatives for those who are afraid of worldly existence,* a certain alleviation of the sufferings of men,† and remover of all imperfections.

This (Purāṇa), originally composed by the Rishi (Nārāyaṇa), was communicated, by Brahmā,‡ to Ribhu;§ he related it to Priyavrata, by whom it was imparted to Bhāguri.¶ Bhāguri recited it to Tamasitra;¹** and he, to Dadhicha,†† who gave it to Sāraswata.∴ From the last Bhrigu§§ received it, who imparted it to Purukutsa; and he taught it to Narmadā. The goddess ¶¶ delivered it to Dhṛitarāshṭra.***

* This name is also read Tambamitra.††† One copy has Tava mitrāya.∴∴ "to thy friend," as if it was an epithet of Dadhicha: but the construction of the verse requires a proper name. "Bhāguri gave it to Tambamitra; and he, to Dadhicha." §§§

भागुरिसम्भिषाय दधीचाय स चोक्तवान् ।

* *Saṁsāra*.

† Literally, 'a cure for men's bad dreams' दुःस्वप्ननाशनं नृणाम् ।

‡ Called, in the original, by his epithet Kamaloddbhava,—the same as Abjayoni. See Vol. I., p. 17, note †.

§ See Vol. I., p. 77, note 1; and Vol. II., p. 330.

Ibid., pp. 107, *et seq.*

¶ For a Bhāguri, see Vol. II., p. 113, note 1

** This reading I find nowhere. See, further, note †††, below.

†† Correct from "Dadhicha". See Vol. I., p. 124; also, Professor Wilson's Translation of the *Rigveda*, Vol. I., p. 216, note a, and p. 310, note a.

∴ See Vol. I., p. 17.

§§ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

¶¶ *Ibid.*, p. 17; Vol. III., p. 268, text and note ‡, and p. 283.

¶¶¶ Literally, Narmadā.

*** See Vol. I., p. 188, note 1; and Vol. II., p. 74.

††† So reads, like, my Ajmere MS., my oldest MS. of all. Ratnagarbha has Tamhamitra; and my Arrah MS. yields Stambamitra.

∴∴ This is Śrīdhara's lection.

§§§ Corrected from "Dadhichi".

the Nága king,* and to Apúraṇa,† of the same race,‡ by whom it was repeated to their monarch,§ Vásuki. Vásuki communicated it to Vatsa;¶ and he, to Aśwātara, from whom it successively proceeded to Kambala and Elápatra.** When the Muni Vedaśiras descended to Pátala,†† he there received the whole (Purána) from these Nágas,‡‡ and communicated it to Pramati.§§ Pramati consigned it to the wise Játukarṇa; and he taught it to many other holy persons. Through the blessing of Vasishtha¶¶, it came to my knowledge; and I have, now, Maitreya, faithfully imparted it to you. You will teach it, at the end of the Kali age, to Śanika.*** Whoever hears this great mystery, which

* A different series of narrators ††† has been specified in the First Book,—Vol. I., p. 17.

* The original has only Nága.

† Corrected from "Purána". See Vol. II., p. 288. From note * to *ibid.*, p. 290, it seems that other Puráṇas read Varuṇa and Aruṇa (?).

‡ The original is धृतराष्ट्राय नागायापूरणाय च । Apúraṇa is not, then, said to be "of the same race". In the passages referred to in the preceding note, he figures as a Grāmaṇi or Yaksha.

§ Literally, "to the king of the Nágas", नागराजाय ।

See Vol. II., p. 74, and p. 86, note 1.

¶ For the Nága called Vatsa, see Vol. II., p. 287, note *.

** For Aśwātara, Kambala, and Elápatra, see Vol. II., p. 74.

†† The original seems to denote that Vedaśiras became master of Pátala:

पातालं समुप्राप्तस्ते वेदशिरा मुनिः ।

‡‡ By the word तेन, immediately following the mention of Elápatra, it is implied that from him alone the Purána passed to Vedaśiras.

§§ Variant: Pramita.

Some of my best MSS. give Játukarṇa. For both names, see Vol. III., p. 36, text and note *.

¶¶ Pulastya, according to my Ajmere MS.

*** Variants: Śanika. Sanika, and Śinika. For Śanika, see Vol. I., Preface, p. LV.

††† On which Ratnagarbha remarks: अथ संमदायान्तरभेदः कल्पभेद-
व्यवस्थितः ।

removes the contamination of the Kali, shall be freed from all his sins. He who hears this every day, acquits himself of his daily obligations to ancestors, gods, and men.* The (great and) rarely attainable merit that a man acquires by the gift of a brown cow,† he derives from hearing ten chapters of this (Purāṇa).¹ He who hears the entire (Purāṇa), contemplating, in his mind, Achyuta, — who is all things, and of whom all things are made; who is the stay of the whole world, the receptacle of spirit; who is knowledge, and that which is to be known; who is without beginning or end, and the benefactor of the gods,; — obtains, assuredly, the reward that attends the uninterrupted celebration of the Aśwamedha rite. § He who reads, and retains with faith this (Purāṇa), in the beginning, middle, and end of which is described the glorious Achyuta, the lord of the universe in every stage, the master of all that is stationary or moveable, composed of spiritual knowledge, ¶ acquires such purity as exists not in any world, — the eternal state of perfection,** (which is) Hari. The man who fixes his

¹ This seems to be an injudicious interpolation: it is not in all the copies. ††

• पितृयज्ञमनुष्ठेभ्यः समक्षामरसंस्तुतिः ।

कृता तेन भवेदेतच्चः शृणोति दिने दिने ॥

† *Kapila*. According to Colebrooke, "when applied to a cow, this term signifies one of the colour of lac dye, with black tail and white hoofs." *Two Treatises on the Hindu Law of Inheritance*, p. 131, note.

; *Amara*.

§ *Vājīmedha*, in the original.

अखिलजगन्मध्यान्तसर्गप्रभुः ।

¶ ब्रह्मज्ञानमयः ।

** एकान्तसिद्धिः ।

†† Śrīdhara ignores it; otherwise it seems to be recognized.

mind on Vishṇu goes not to hell. He who meditates upon him regards heavenly enjoyment only as an impediment; and he whose mind and soul are penetrated by him thinks little of the world of Brahmá: for, when present in the minds of those whose intellects are free from soil, he confers upon them eternal freedom. What marvel, therefore, is it, that the sins of one who repeats the name of Achyuta should be wiped away? Should not that Hari be heard of whom those devoted to acts worship with sacrifices, continually, as the god of sacrifice;* whom those devoted to meditation† contemplate as primary and secondary, composed of spirit;‡ by obtaining whom, man is not born, nor nourished,§ nor subjected to death; who is all that is, and that is not, (or both cause and effect); who, as the progenitors, receives the libations made to them; who, as the gods, accepts the offerings¶ addressed to them; the glorious being who is without beginning or end; whose name is both Swáhá** and Swadhá;¹** who is the abode of all spiritual power; in whom the limits of finite things cannot be measured; and who, when he enters the ear, destroys all sin?²

¹ The words or prayers employed in presenting oblations with fire.

² The text has:

यस्मिन्ब्रह्मणि सर्वशक्तिनिलये मानानि नो मानिनाम् ।

निष्ठाये प्रभवन्ति हन्ति क्लृप्तं ओचं स यातो हरिः ॥ *

Mána commonly means 'pride;' but here it seems most appro-

* *Yajñehwara.*

† *Yogin.*

‡ *Brahma-maya.*

§ The original has नो वर्धते हीयते नैव ।

¶ *Kavya.*

¶ *Havya.*

** See Vol. III., p. 122, note ‡, *ad finem.*

I adore him, that first of gods, Purushottama,* who is without end and without beginning, without growth, without decay,† without death:: who is substance that knows not change. I adore that ever inexhaustible spirit,§ who assumed sensible qualities; who, though one, became many; who, though pure, became as if impure, by appearing in many and various shapes; who is endowed with (divine) wisdom, and is the author of the preservation of all creatures.¶ I adore him, who is the one conjoined essence and object of both meditative wisdom and active virtue; who is watchful in providing for human enjoyments; who is one with the three qualities; who, without undergoing change, is the cause of the evolution of the world; who exists of his own essence, ever exempt from decay.** I constantly adore him, who is entitled heaven,†† air, fire, water, earth, and ether;:: who is the

privately rendered by its radical import, 'measure.' The measures which are for the determination of measurable things are not applicable to Vishnu.

* नतोऽस्मि पुरुषोत्तममाद्यमीशम् । † *Parinama.* ; *Apakshaya.*

§ तस्मै नतोऽस्मि पुरुषाय सदाव्ययाय ।

For *avyaya*, see Vol. I., p. 17, note •.

॥ त्रिगुणभुज् ।

¶ सकलतत्त्वविभूतिकर्ता ।

** ज्ञानप्रवृत्तिनियमेकमथाय पुंसः ।

भोगप्रदानपटवे त्रिगुणात्मकाय ॥

• सत्त्वाकृताय भवभावनकारणाय ।

वन्द्ये स्वरूपमभवाय सदावराय ॥

†† *Vyoman*, the same as *ākāśa*, which is generally rendered 'ether' See Vol. I., p. 34, note •.

:: The only reading which I find is

द्यौर्मानिषाप्रिक्खभूरचनमयाय ।

We have had "ether" just above, in the Translator's "heaven"; and

bestower of all the objects which give gratification to the senses; who benefits mankind with the instruments of fruition; who is perceptible, who is subtile, who is imperceptible. May that unborn, eternal Hari, whose form is manifold, and whose essence is composed of both nature and spirit,* bestow upon all mankind that blessed state which knows neither birth nor decay!

there is no sixth element.

In the MS. which Professor Wilson used in preference to any or all others, the letters •रख- in this passage look very like ख, for which he probably took them, not noticing the two letters following, making up •रखना-; and *kha* is one of the words for "ether". *Vide supra*, p. 198, text, with notes † and ¶.

* यख रूपं प्रकृतिपरात्मयम् ।

APPENDIX.

[No one among the contemporaries of Professor Wilson is known to have qualified himself more adequately than Colonel Vans Kennedy for discussing the subject of the Purāṇas; and it has, therefore, been considered that the following correspondence must, with all its defects, possess, to the readers of these volumes, sufficient interest to justify its republication in this place. The seven letters of which it consists—namely, five entitled *On Professor Wilson's Theory respecting the Purāṇas*, the Professor's Reply, and the Colonel's Rejoinder,—originally appeared in the *London Asiatic Journal* for 1840 and 1841, addressed to its editor. F. H.]

SIR: In the learned and ingenious remarks contained in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Professor Wilson remarks that the Purāṇas “may be acquitted of subservience to any but sectarial imposture. They were pious* frauds for temporary purposes;”† and that they “are, also, works of evidently different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances, the precise nature of which we can but imperfectly conjecture from internal evidence, and from what we know of the history of religious opinion in India. It is highly probable that, of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Śaṅkara Āchārya, the great Śaiva reformer, who flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaiṣṇava teachers, Rā-

* Colonel Kennedy omitted this word.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. XI.

mānuja dates in the twelfth century; Madhwáchárya, in the thirteenth; and Vallabha, in the sixteenth; and the Purāṇas seem to have accompanied, or followed, their innovations; being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught.* He further observes that "a very great portion of the contents of many [of the Purāṇas], some portion of the contents of all, is genuine and old. The sectarial interpolation, or embellishment, is always sufficiently palpable to be set aside without injury to the more authentic and primitive material; and the Purāṇas, although they belong especially † to that stage of the Hindu religion in which faith in some one divinity was the prevailing principle, are, also, a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief which came next in order to that of the Vedas." ‡ And yet Professor Wilson, at the same time, maintains that religious instruction is not one of the five topics which are treated of in a genuine Purāṇa, and that its occurrence in the Purāṇas now extant is a decisive proof that these are not the same works, in all respects, that were current, under the denomination of Purāṇas, in the century prior to Christianity.

These, however, and similar remarks contained in that Preface, seem to be inconsistent and inconclusive: for, if the Purāṇas, in their present form, are of so modern a date, and if the ancient Purāṇas are no longer extant, by what means can it be ascertained that any portion of the contents of the works now bearing the name of Purāṇas is genuine and old?

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XVI.

† Colonel Kennedy—a very heedless quoter,—had "essentially".

‡ Vol. I., Preface, pp. XI., XII.

Professor Wilson rejects, as not belonging to the Purāṇas, in the time of Amara Siṃha (B. C. 56), all those parts of the present Purāṇas which relate to the rites and observances and to the theology of the Hindus; but it is those parts only which admit of being compared with other Hindu works, and with all that is known of the Hindu religion. It is, also, unquestionable that certain works denominated Purāṇas have been immemorially considered, by the Hindus, as sacred books;* and it must be evident that, unless the doctrines of the Hindu religion were inculcated in those works, they could contain nothing which could communicate to them a sacred character. The opinion, therefore, of Professor Wilson, that the genuine Purāṇas treated of profane subjects only, is, obviously, incompatible with that profound reverence with which the Purāṇas are regarded by all Hindus, even at the present day. The only argument, also, which he has adduced in support of this opinion, depends entirely upon the use and meaning of the term *pancha-lakshana*, as applied to a Purāṇa. But the passage in Sanskrit, quoted in the note in page VII., does not admit of the restricted sense which Professor Wilson has given to it; because the first of the five topics¹ there mentioned, or *sarga*, is inadequately expressed† by “primary creation, or cosmogony.” This will be at once evident by a reference

¹ The five topics, as explained by Professor Wilson, are: “1. Primary creation, or cosmogony; 2. Secondary creation, or the destruction and renovation of worlds, including chronology; 3. Genealogy of gods and patriarchs; 4. Reigns of the Manus, or periods called Manwantaras; and, 5. History.”

* ?? † But see what the Colonel says in p. 299, note 2, *infra*.

to the contents of the Translation of the *Vishnú Purána*, where, under *sarga*, are enumerated: * Vishnú, the origin, existence, and end of all things; his existence before creation; his first manifestations; description of Pradhána, of Prakṛiti, of the active cause; development of effects, of the mundane egg. For the description of all that precedes the appearance of the mundane egg, which occurs in the *Vishnú* and other Puráñas, is the most abstruse and sacred part of Hindu theology: as it explains the real nature of the Supreme Being, and of those manifestations of his divine essence which lead men to believe in the actual existence of a material world. The first, therefore, of the five topics treated of in a genuine Purána, according to Professor Wilson, necessarily includes religious instruction; because the antecedents to creation could not have been described without, at the same time, explaining the distinction between the one sole-existing spirit and those illusive appearances which seem to be composed of matter. The second, also, of those topics is, equally, of a religious nature: for an account of the destruction and renovation of worlds must, necessarily, include a description of the means and agents employed, by the Supreme Being, for those purposes. Under the first two topics, consequently, is comprised a great part of what is contained in the Puráñas, as at present extant: namely, a description of the real essence of the Supreme Being, and of the illusive nature of the universe; of the production of Brahmá, Vishnú, Śiva, and their female energies; of the origin of angelic beings and holy sages; and of all the circumstances relating

* This is not a fair representation.

to the repeated creation, destruction, and renovation of the world; and it may, therefore, be justly concluded, that these subjects were also treated of in the eighteen Purāṇas, as originally committed to writing, and that the term *pancha-lakshana* affords no grounds for the conclusion which Professor Wilson has deduced from its use and meaning.

But those parts of the present Purāṇas which relate to festivals, rites, and observances, and to the worship of particular deities, may appear to support this remark of Professor Wilson: "They [the Purāṇas] are no longer authorities for Hindu belief, as a whole: they are special guides for separate and, sometimes, conflicting branches of it; compiled for the evident purpose of promoting the preferential, or, in some cases, the sole, worship of Viṣṇu, or of Śiva."* It is not clear what is here meant by the "Hindu belief, as a whole;" for there are, I believe, no traces, now extant, of the Hindu religion having ever existed as one uniform system of belief in one and the same deity. But the antiquity of the Upanishads is not disputed; and, in one or other of them, the attributes of the Supreme Being are distinctly ascribed to Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Devī, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa; and, consequently, when the Upanishads were composed, there must have been some Hindus who paid a preferential worship to one or other of those deities. These, however, are precisely the same deities to whom the attributes of the Supreme Being are ascribed in one or other of the Purāṇas; and, therefore, if the antiquity

* Vol. I., Preface, p. V.

of the Upanishads be admitted, the variety of deities proposed for worship in the Purāṇas now extant can be no proof that these works were recently compiled, for sectarian purposes. The Vedas, indeed, have not yet been so examined as to admit of its being determined whether the same distinction is to be found in them; but Mr. Colebrooke has stated that the whole of the Indian theology is founded on the Upanishads, and that several of them, which he has described, were extracts from the Vedas. The six deities, therefore, just mentioned, were, most probably, objects of worship, when the religious system of the Vedas flourished; and it must, in consequence, be altogether improper to consider the worshippers of one of those deities, in preference to the others, as sectarians, if, by this term, is intended such sectarians as have existed in India in later times. For, according to the principles of the Hindu religion, there is unity in diversity; and, hence, it is held that these apparently different deities are merely variant forms of one and the same Supreme Being, and that, consequently, the worship of any one of them is equally holy and effective,—as it is, in fact, the adoration of the Supreme Being in that particular form. Sectarianism, at the same time, consists in the exclusive, and not merely preferential, worship of a particular deity; but in not one of the Purāṇas is there a single intimation, or injunction, which, virtually, or expressly, sanctions the rejection of the worship of Vishṇu, or Śiva, or of any of the other six deities. The orthodox Hindus, therefore, are, even at the present day, votaries, but not sectaries, of either Vishṇu or Śiva; and such they appear to have been from the

remotest time,—as the particular worship of Brahmá has long ceased, and, though particular worshippers of Súrya and Gañeśa have existed, and, perhaps, still exist, in India, they have never been numerous, and the worship of Deví has degenerated into rites and ceremonies which, though practised by many Hindus, are, generally, considered to be contrary to the tenets and ritual of the Hindu religion.¹

Professor Wilson also has not explained the sectarian purposes to promote which he thinks the works at present bearing the names of Puráñas were compiled in a period so comparatively modern as that between the eighth and seventeenth centuries. But he cannot mean to contend that Vishnú and Śiva were not objects of worship in the earliest times of the Hindu religion, or that they were worshipped with the same rites and ceremonies: and, if not, the mere ascribing, in those works, preeminence to either Vishnú or Śiva, and a superior excellence to the worship of either of those gods, which is all that occurs of them,—can be no proof that the Puráñas, as now extant, are mere modern works, compiled for sectarian purposes: because in not one of the eighteen Puráñas is it, in any manner, intimated that Vishnú or Śiva ought not to be worshipped; and, on the contrary, numerous passages occur in them, in which precisely the same rewards are promised to the worshipper of either god. So far, indeed, is any one of the Puráñas from inculcating the exclusive worship of either Vishnú or

¹ I here merely allude to the worship of Deví by the sacrifice of animals, and not to the abominable worship described in the Tantras.

Śiva, that Vishṇu is introduced, in some of them, teaching the worship of Śiva, and, in others, Śiva, teaching the worship of Vishṇu. The only distinction which appears to exist between these gods is, that, in particular Purāṇas, each is represented as the Supreme Being, when the other becomes, in a certain sense, inferior, without, however, detracting from his divine excellence. It is, also, remarkable that it is not in separate Purāṇas only that preeminence is ascribed to either Vishṇu or Śiva, or even to Brahmā; but this ascription occurs in the very same Purāṇa. For, as far as I have observed, there are only five Purāṇas in which the supremacy is uniformly ascribed to the same god: namely, the *Linga* and *Skanda*, in which Śiva is identified with the Supreme Being; the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata*, in which this honour is attributed to Vishṇu; and the *Brahma Vairarta*, in which Kṛishṇa is represented as the Supreme Being, and his favourite mistress, Rādhā, as his *śakti* or energy. When, therefore, in the Purāṇas as now extant, equal reverence is given not only to Vishṇu and Śiva, but to four other deities, and when nothing occurs, in them, which in the least sanctions the rejection of the worship of those deities, or in any manner condemns or disparages it, it seems evident that such works could not have been composed for the sectarian purpose of promoting the exclusive worship of either Vishṇu or Śiva, or of any other god.¹

¹ I should except the *Brahma Vairarta Purāṇa* (for I have not met with any Upanishad in which Kṛishṇa is represented as the Supreme Being); but this Purāṇa appears to me to be of

It is, as the same time, impossible to understand why Professor Wilson should have been so anxious to establish, in that Preface, that the Purāṇas now extant are mere modern compilations, and that a genuine Purāṇa treats of profane subjects only, when, in p. XCVII., he makes these remarks: "That Brahmins unknown to fame have remodelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and, especially, the Purāṇas, cannot reasonably be contested, after dispassionately weighing the strong internal evidence, which all of them afford, of the intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients. But the same internal testimony furnishes proof, equally decisive, of the anterior existence of ancient materials; and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the contents of the Purāṇas, in the face of abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era." For the natural conclusion from such premisses must, necessarily, be, that the Purāṇas now extant are the very same works which were known, under that denomination, three centuries before the Christian era, but that they, at the same time, afford strong internal testimony of an intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients. But, to invert this conclusion, and to suppose that, because some parts

a much more ancient date than that ascribed to it by Professor Wilson.

of the present Purāṇas are, perhaps, modern, therefore these works must be modern compilations, is, obviously, contrary to every principle of just reasoning; because, as it is admitted that ancient materials existed anterior to the supposed compilation of the present Purāṇas, and as no cause can be assigned for their disappearance—if such existed,—in the tenth or eleventh century, it is most reasonable to conclude that the Purāṇas now extant do, actually, consist of those very materials, and that they are, in fact, the very same works which were current, under that denomination, in the time of Amara Siṃha. Professor Wilson, however, seems to have given more weight to the internal testimony arising from those passages of the Purāṇas which he thinks have a modern appearance, than to that which results from those parts which the Purāṇas must have contained from their first composition, in order to entitle them to a sacred character and to that reverence with which these works have been always regarded by the Hindus. But the fixing the precise date when the Purāṇas received their present form is a question of little or no consequence, when it is admitted that there is “abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era.”

The Purāṇas, therefore, cannot be—as also remarked by Professor Wilson, in p. XI., pious frauds, written for temporary purposes, in subservience to sectarian imposture. But these are the principal grounds on

which he rests his opinion, that the Purāṇas now extant did not receive their present form until a thousand years after the birth of Christ. Professor Wilson, however, does not explain in what this imposture consisted, or for what sectarian purpose it was intended. That there are, at this day, and may have been, for many centuries, exclusive worshippers of Vishṇu, or Śiva, is undoubted; but, as I have before observed, this exclusive worship is not sanctioned by anything that is contained in the Purāṇas now extant; nor do they, in any manner, countenance those more obscure sects which have existed in India in later times. The opinion, also, of Professor Wilson, that "the designation of Śakti may not be correctly applicable to the whole [of the *Rājasa* division of the Purāṇas], although it is to some of the series; for there is no incompatibility in the advocacy of a Tāntrika modification of the Hindu religion by any Purāṇa,"* is, unquestionably, erroneous; because, in not one of the eighteen Purāṇas is there the slightest indication of the Tāntrika worship, or the slightest allusion to it; for the worship of Devī, in the form of Durgā or Kālī, by blood, flesh, and spirituous liquors, is essentially different from that of Devī as Śakti: in the one, it is her image which is worshipped, and, in the latter, it is a naked virgin.¹ Had, however, imposture for sectarian purposes been the object for which the Purāṇas were written, it must have been evident in every part of them; but, on the

¹ Strictly speaking, not the virgin, but the *πτερίς* of the virgin.

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. XXI, XXII.

contrary, I have no doubt that, were they carefully and dispassionately examined, it would satisfactorily appear that they contain nothing which is incompatible with those principles of the Hindu religion which are universally acknowledged by all Hindus. The argument, consequently, deduced from the assumption that the Purāṇas, as now extant, are pious frauds, and, therefore, modern compilations, is refuted by the whole scope and tendency of those works; nor, were it even proved that interpolations and additions have taken place in them, would this circumstance detract from the authenticity of such portions of them as afford strong internal evidence of their antiquity. But what more conclusive evidence of their antiquity can be required than—as is admitted by Professor Wilson himself,—their containing a correct description of the doctrines, the legends, and the institutions of the Hindu religion which were prevalent in India three centuries before the Christian era? For it is, obviously, much more probable that the present Purāṇas are works which were then extant, than that eighteen different persons should, each, have conceived, thirteen hundred years afterwards, the design of writing a Purāṇa, and should have been able to compile or compose, so accurately, eighteen different works which correspond so exactly in numerous essential and minute particulars.

The eighteen Purāṇas, also, as Professor Wilson states, consist of 400,000 *ślokas*, or 1,600,000 lines; and it must, therefore, be evident that nothing but the most attentive examination of the whole of such extensive works, and a thorough knowledge of the

exact state of India, and of all the changes which may have taken place, in the country and amongst the people, during the last two thousand years, could enable any person to fix, with any degree of certainty, from the internal evidence of the Purāṇas, the date when each of them was composed. A name, a circumstance, or even a legend may have a modern appearance; but its recentness, or antiquity, can only be determined by there being some known facts with which it can be compared; and it is the want of such facts, in the present state of our knowledge of Hindu history, that renders all reasoning, with respect to the dates of the events mentioned in the Purāṇas, so completely inconclusive. Most of the legends, also, are of a miraculous nature; and no date, therefore, can be inferred from them. Professor Wilson, however, undeterred by such considerations, has not hesitated to fix the time when each Purāṇa was composed, and to place the compilation of the Purāṇas, as now extant, between the eighth and seventeenth centuries. But his reasons for assigning so modern a period to the compilation of those works appear to rest, principally, if not entirely, on the contents of the different Purāṇas not corresponding with his preconceived opinion of what a Purāṇa ought to be. For Professor Wilson thus observes, with respect to the *Brahma Vairarta Purāṇa*: "The character of the work is, in truth, so* decidedly sectarial, and the sect to which it belongs, so distinctly marked,—that of the worshippers of the juvenile Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, a form of belief of known modern origin,—that it can scarcely have found a notice in a

* Colonel Kennedy omitted the words "in truth, so".

work to which, like the *Matsya*, a much more remote date seems to belong. Although, therefore, the *Matsya* may be received in proof of there having been a *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* at the date of its compilation, dedicated especially to the honour of Kṛishṇa, yet we cannot credit the possibility of its being the same we now possess."¹ * Thus, Professor Wilson decides, not only that "the *Brahma Vaivarta* has not the slightest title to be regarded as a *Purāṇa*,"† but, also, that the *Purāṇa* which bore that name is no longer extant; and yet he adduces neither argument nor proof in support of this decision, and of his gratuitous assumption that this *Purāṇa* owes its origin to the modern sect of the worshippers of the juvenile Kṛishṇa. He admits, also, that the first three Books (or nearly two-thirds,) of this *Purāṇa* are occupied in the description of the acts of Brahmā, Devī, and Gaṇeśa; but he does not explain why the supposed sectarian writer, instead of composing a work solely in honour of Kṛishṇa, and in support of his sect, has dedicated so great a part of the *Purāṇa* to the celebration of other deities. In the same manner, Professor Wilson remarks, with respect to the *Vāmana Purāṇa*: "It is of a more tolerant

¹ The object of this *Purāṇa* is to represent Kṛishṇa as the Supreme Being, and Rādhā, as his energy; and it is, therefore, altogether improbable that it should have been compiled for the purpose of promoting the modern worship of the juvenile Kṛishṇa, or that a modern work should have been written, and substituted in the place of the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* mentioned in the *Matsya*.

* Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVI.

† *Ibid.*, p. LXVII.

character than the Purāṇas, and divides its homage between Śiva and Viṣṇu with tolerable impartiality. It is not connected, therefore, with any sectarian principles, and may have preceded their introduction. It has not, however, the air of any antiquity; and its compilation may have amused the leisure of some Brahman of Benares three or four centuries ago."¹*

But this, surely, is not the manner in which the question whether the Purāṇas, as now extant, are ancient and original compositions, or mere modern compilations, ought to be discussed,—far less, decided. On the contrary, the particular passages of the Purāṇas which are supposed to be modern ought to be adduced, or referred to; and it should, then, be shown that the circumstances and events, or the doctrines and legends, mentioned in them could not be of an ancient date, because they had occurred, or had been introduced, in modern times, or that they were posterior to modern events of known dates: and, as, therefore, Professor Wilson has not followed this method, but trusted to conjecture and inferences deduced from erroneous premisses, it seems evident that his speculations respecting the modern period in which the present Purāṇas were composed must be considered to be either groundless or not yet supported by the requisite proof.

¹ As, however, Professor Wilson places the introduction of sectarian principles in the eighth or ninth century, † the date of the *Vāmana Purāṇa*, if compiled previous to their introduction, must be the eighth century, at least, and not the fourteenth or fifteenth.

* Vol. I., Preface, p. LXXVI.

† *Vide supra*, p. 257.

The preceding observations will have, perhaps, evinced that the remarks contained in Professor Wilson's Preface to his Translation of the *Vishnū Purāṇa* have been written under the impression of two conflicting opinions: for he is obliged to admit that the Purāṇas now extant were compiled from ancient materials, and that they are "a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief which came next in order to that of the Vedas": and yet he contends that those works are pious frauds, written for temporary purposes, in subservience to sectarial imposture. But both these opinions cannot be correct: and it must, therefore, be most accordant with probability to conclude that, although interpolations and additions may, possibly, have taken place in the Purāṇas, as now extant, they are, still, in all essential respects, the very same works which have been, from remote times, held sacred by the Hindus. That, however, alterations have been made in the present Purāṇas is a mere supposition, which has never yet been supported by any clear and satisfactory proof; and the inconsistent and inconclusive reasoning, employed by a person so well acquainted with the Purāṇas as Professor Wilson, to prove that they are mere modern compilations, must, alone, evince that the internal evidence of the Purāṇas, even in their present form, affords such incontrovertible proof of their antiquity, that even those who wish to contest this are obliged to admit it, and to explain it by having recourse to the conjecture, that ancient materials existed, from which those parts of the extant Purāṇas which are, most probably, ancient, were compiled. But, as this conjecture is altogether gra-

tuitous, and unsupported by proof, it may be much more reasonably concluded that the Purāṇas now extant are the very same works which have been always known, under that denomination, from the remote time when they were originally composed;* and Professor Wilson himself remarks that “they never emanated from any impossible combination of the Brahmans to fabricate for the antiquity of the entire Hindu system any claims which it cannot fully support;”† and that “the origin and development of the doctrines, traditions, and institutions [described in the Purāṇas now extant,] were not the work of a day; and the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity carries it back to a much more remote antiquity,—to an antiquity that is, probably, not surpassed by any of the prevailing fictions, institutions, or beliefs of the ancient world.”‡

VANS KENNEDY.

Bombay, 28th August, 1840.

SIR: In the letter which I addressed to you on the 28th ult., I confined myself to such observations as seemed to evince that the remarks contained in Professor Wilson's Preface to his Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* were written under the impression of two conflicting opinions, which could not, both, be correct. As my attention has, thus, been again directed to the question whether the eighteen Purāṇas, as now extant,

* Of this untenable position Colonel Kennedy nowhere offers any proof.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. XI.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. XCIX.

are ancient compositions, or modern compilations, I am induced to enter into a further discussion of this subject. For it is evident that, if the works now known under that denomination were written between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries, for temporary purposes, in subservience to sectarial imposture, they cannot be a valuable record of the form of Hindu belief which came next in order to that of the Vedas. Nor can they, indeed, afford any authentic information with respect to the state of the Hindu religion previous to the twelfth century; because, even admitting that those works may have been partly compiled from ancient materials, there are no means now available by which what is genuine and old that may be contained in them can be distinguished from what is supposed to be spurious and modern.

The limits of a preface may have prevented Professor Wilson from fully discussing this question; but, as that Preface extends to seventy-five quarto pages, it is most probable that he has, at least, stated, in it, the principal reasons which induce him to consider the Purāṇas to be modern compositions. To me, however, it appears that those reasons, instead of supporting Professor Wilson's opinion, should lead to a directly contrary conclusion. The arguing, in particular, that, because not one of the present Purāṇas corresponds with the term *pancha-lakshana*, or "treatises on five topics", which is given as a synonym to a Purāṇa, in the vocabulary of Amara Siṃha,—therefore it is decidedly proved "that we have not, at present, the same works, in all respects, that were current, under the denomination of Purāṇas, in the century

prior to Christianity,"* is, certainly, altogether inconclusive. For a mere descriptive term cannot be received as proof, when the argument itself admits that the works which it was intended to describe are no longer extant, and that, consequently, there are no means of determining whether the term did, or did not, apply strictly to those works. On the supposition, also, that the Purāṇas now extant are modern compositions, written in imitation of the ancient Purāṇas, it must be evident that those works could not have been restricted to the treating only of the five topics mentioned by Professor Wilson; for he himself observes that the description of a Purāṇa, included in the term *pancha-lakshana*, is utterly inapplicable to some of the present Purāṇas, and that to others it only partially applies. But, though it may be supposed that the Brahmans might possibly recompose their sacred books, it is altogether improbable that they would so alter them, as to leave no resemblance between the original and its substitute; and, consequently, had the prescribed form for the composition of a Purāṇa required the treating of five topics only, in that precise form would the present Purāṇas (if modern compilations,) have, no doubt, been written. As, therefore, they do not exhibit that form, and as they could not have succeeded to the reverence in which the ancient Purāṇas were held, unless they resembled those works, (at least in form,) it is most reasonable to conclude that a Purāṇa, as originally composed, was not "a treatise on five topics." The miscellaneous nature, consequently, of the contents of the present Purāṇas cannot

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XI.

be admitted as a valid objection to their antiquity, on a mere supposition, which is not only improbable in itself, but which is, also, disproved by the sacred character that has been immemorially ascribed to the Purāṇas, which, it is obvious, they could not have received, had they treated only of the profane topics mentioned by Professor Wilson.

The argument also supposes that the original eighteen Purāṇas were current prior to the Christian era; and, before, therefore, the conclusion can be granted, the time and manner in which those works have become extinct should be proved: for, as numerous Sanskrit works which were, unquestionably, extant at the commencement of the Christian era, have been preserved until the present day, nothing but satisfactory proof can establish that the Purāṇas alone, although held to be sacred books, have completely disappeared. It requires to be particularly considered that the Purāṇas consist of eighteen distinct works, comprising an aggregate of 1,600,000 lines,* and that India, more than one million of square miles in extent, has been, during the last two thousand years, divided into at least ten distinct regions,† differing in language and in local customs and prejudices. Were it, therefore, even conceded that the Brahmans, since the Christian era, had succeeded in suppressing the whole of the eighteen Purāṇas, and in substituting other works in their place, in some one or other region of India, still copies of the original Purāṇas would have

* See Vol. I., Preface, p. XXIV.

† For the particulars of this unscientific classification, see Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. II., p. 179.

been preserved in the other regions. Nothing but the entire extirpation of the Brahmanical religion, throughout the whole of so extensive a country, could have effected the complete destruction of such voluminous works,—the more especially, as their sacred character would have rendered their preservation an object of constant solicitude. But, until a complete suppression of the ancient Purāṇas had been effected, other works could not have been substituted in their place; and, thus, the objection to the supposition that the Purāṇas, as now extant, were not written until between the eleventh and seventeenth centuries becomes insuperable. For, admitting the dates assigned to each of the Purāṇas by Professor Wilson, it may be asked: Was the ancient Purāṇa, bearing the same name, extant until it was superseded by the modern one, or was it not? In the first case, in what manner was its supersession accomplished? Professor Wilson extends the period during which he supposes the Purāṇas to have received their present form, to eight centuries; and he, thus, admits that the replacing of the ancient Purāṇas by new works did not proceed from a combination of the Brahmans to remodel the Hindu religion on new but premeditated principles. It becomes, therefore, impossible to understand how any individual could, without the consent and assistance of the Brahmans, effect the suppression of an ancient Purāṇa, and the substitution, in its place, of a work of his own composition or compilation, throughout the whole of India. If, for instance, the *Bhāgavata* was written by Bopadeva, at Doulutabad, in the twelfth century, was the original *Bhāgavata* then in existence, or not? If it

was, what reason, consistent with probability, can be assigned for supposing that the Brahmans of all India would have suppressed one of their sacred books, to which they ascribed a divine origin, and received, as entitled to the same reverence, the acknowledged composition of an obscure grammarian? The supposition is, evidently, absurd. It is strange, also, that Mr. Colebrooke should have remarked that "Bopadeva, the real author of the *Śrī Bhāgavata*, has endeavoured to reconcile all the sects of Hindus, by reviving the doctrines of Vyāsa. He recognizes all the deities, but as subordinate to the Supreme Being, or, rather, as attributes or manifestations of God:"¹ for, with the omission of the word "attributes", this is precisely the same doctrine which is invariably taught in each and all of the eighteen Purāṇas. The *Bhāgavata*, therefore, as now extant, could not have been written for the purpose of inculcating a new doctrine; for, in that respect, it entirely corresponds with the other Purāṇas: nor is the representation, in it, of Vishṇu as the Supreme Being inconsistent with the principles of the Hindu religion as explained in the other Purāṇas. It, in consequence, does not afford the slightest internal evidence of its having been written for the purpose of sectarian imposture; nor have I observed, in it, any passage which indicates that this Purāṇa could not have been written prior to the twelfth century. If, however, the original *Bhāgavatu* was not then in

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. VII., p. 280.*

* Or *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 197.

existence, the objection still remains insuperable; for nothing can render it in the least probable that the Brahmans of all India would receive the composition of an obscure individual as a sacred book entitled to their reverence. It must, also, be evident that, if the Purāṇas which were current in the century prior to the Christian era have not been suppressed, there can be no reason for supposing that they have not been preserved until the present day. But it seems unquestionable that the Purāṇas then current could not have been subsequently suppressed, and other works substituted in their place, unless the Brahmans of all India had combined together in order to effect that object: and Professor Wilson, himself, remarks that the Purāṇas, in their present form, "never emanated from any impossible combination of the Brahmans to fabricate for the antiquity of the entire Hindu system any claims which it cannot fully support."* A combination, therefore, of the Brahmans being considered to be impossible, it must appear most probable that the eighteen Purāṇas have been preserved, during the last eighteen hundred years, in the same manner as other Sanskrit works of the same period have been preserved, and that the present Purāṇas are, in fact, in all essential respects, the same works which were current, under that name, in India in the century prior to the Christian era.†

Another argument adduced by Professor Wilson, in

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XI.

† Throughout this critique, Colonel Kennedy seems to ignore the predictive sections of the Purāṇas, — a very essential feature in almost all of them.

support of his opinion, is the sectarian tendency of the Purāṇas. But he does not clearly explain what he means by that term; and, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," he has observed: "This is not the case, however, with the first two on the list, the Saurapātas and Gaṇapātas: these are usually, indeed, ranked with the preceding divisions, and make, with the Vaishṇavas, Śaivas, and Śāktas, the five orthodox divisions of the Hindus."¹ In this passage, however, some inadvertency must have occurred: for, according to Professor Wilson's own account, the Śāktas cannot be included among the orthodox divisions of the Hindus; and I suppose, therefore, that the worshippers of Devī were here intended. But Vishṇu, Śiva, Devī, Sūrya, and Gaṇapati are the very deities, and the only ones, whose worship is described or mentioned in the Purāṇas; and, as this is admitted to be orthodox, it must follow that the Purāṇas could not have been written for sectarian purposes. What are the sects, therefore, to which Professor Wilson alludes, in that Preface, is not apparent. But his notion of a sect would seem to originate in this singular opinion, which he has expressed with respect to the Paurāṇik account of the Hindu religion: "The different works known by the name of Purāṇas are, evidently, derived from the same religious system as the Rāmāyaṇa and Mahābhārata, or from the mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief."* For, in both those poems, the passages which

¹ *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., p. 230. †

* Vol. I., Preface, p. V.

† Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 265, 266.

relate to the legends and tenets of the Hindu religion are merely incidental, and do not form a principal part of those works; while, on the contrary, the legends and tenets of the Hindu religion are not only the principal, but the sole, subject of the Purāṇas. It is much more probable, therefore, that such incidental notices of those topics as occur in the two poems were derived from the Purāṇas, than that such extensive works as the Purāṇas—which embrace all the details of Hindu mythology, and all the abstruse doctrine of Hindu theology,—were derived from poems which are, principally, of an historical character. To conclude, consequently, that, because those topics are treated of at much greater length in the Purāṇas than in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*, therefore the Purāṇas were written at a later period than those poems, is, evidently, erroneous. At the same time, on what grounds does Professor Wilson suppose that there ever was a “mytho-heroic stage of Hindu belief”? He merely says that Rāma and Kṛishṇa “appear to have been, originally, real and historical characters,” who have been “elevated to the dignity of divinities,”* and that the Purāṇas belong, essentially, to that stage of Hindu belief “which grafted hero-worship upon the simpler ritual”† of the Vedas. But Professor Wilson adduces neither argument nor quotation in support of this opinion; and it is, therefore, sufficient to observe that, in the Purāṇas, the *Rāmāyaṇa*, and *Mahābhārata*, Rāma and Kṛishṇa are invariably described, not as mere men, but as in-

* Vol. I., Preface, p. IV.

† *Ibid.*, p. XII.

carnate forms of Vishnu, and that not a single passage can be produced, from those works, which inculcates hero-worship.

Professor Wilson, however, not only remarks that "Śiva and Vishnu, under one or other form, are almost the sole objects that claim the homage of the Hindus, in the Purāṇas,"* but also rests much of his reasoning, with respect to the date when each Purāṇa, as at present extant, was composed, and to its having been written for sectarian purposes, on the character of Kṛishṇa as a hero-god. For, in describing the *Brahma Purāṇa*, he observes: "Then come a number of chapters relating to the holiness of Orissa, with its temples and sacred groves dedicated to the Sun, to Śiva, and Jagannātha,¹—the latter, especially. These chapters are characteristic of this Purāṇa, and show its main object to be the promotion of the worship of Kṛishṇa as Jagannātha."²† With regard, also, to the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, he remarks: "The fifth book of the Vishnu Purāṇa is exclusively occupied with the life of Kṛishṇa. This is one of the distinguishing characteristics of the Purāṇa, and is one argument against its antiquity."‡ And this objection he explains, in speaking of the *Brahma Vairarta Purāṇa*, where he observes that the decidedly sectarian

¹ A name of Kṛishṇa.

² Professor Wilson states, at the same time, that the legend of Jagannātha occupies one-third only of this Purāṇa; from which it would be more just to conclude that its main object could not be the promotion of the worship of Jagannātha.

* Vol. I., Preface, p. V.

† *Ibid.*, p. XXVIII.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. CIX.

character of that Purāṇa shows that it belongs to the sect, of known modern origin, which worship the juvenile Kṛishṇa and Rādhā.* But Professor Wilson does not specify the forms of Śiva, the worship of which is mentioned in the Purāṇas, as he states; and, on the contrary, it is unquestionable that, in those works, it is strictly enjoined that Śiva should be worshipped under no other figure or type than that of the Linga; and, as Śiva was never incarnate, there could be no form under which he could be worshipped. With regard, also, to Viṣṇu, Professor Wilson confines his remarks to the eighth incarnation only, that of Kṛishṇa. But the Purāṇas contain long details relating to the incarnation of Viṣṇu in the human forms of Rāmachandra and Paraśurāma; and why, therefore, should Kṛishṇa alone be considered as a real historical character who has been elevated to the dignity of divinity? The answer is obvious. There is a sect, of known modern origin, who worship the juvenile Kṛishṇa and Rādhā; and it may, in consequence, be concluded that the Purāṇas in which Kṛishṇa is mentioned were written for the purpose of promoting the extension of that sect. But, as no sect has selected Rāmachandra or Paraśurāma as the peculiar object of their worship, no argument could be founded on the mention of their names in the Purāṇas; and, therefore, it was unnecessary to notice them. But they were, both, greater heroes than Kṛishṇa, and lived several centuries before him;† and, had, consequently, hero-

* Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVI.

† The Colonel is precise, here, beyond all reasonable warrant.

worship ever prevailed in India, it must seem most probable that it would have originated with Rāmachandra, whose expedition to Lankā is the subject of a celebrated and revered poem,—had the Hindus ever considered him to be merely a mortal prince. It is, however, needless to continue these observations; for Professor Wilson has, himself, refuted his own opinion; as he has also remarked that Kṛishṇa is not represented in the character of Bāla Gopāla (the object of worship of the modern sect,) in the *Vishṇu* and *Bhāgavata Purāṇas*,* and that the life of Kṛishṇa in the *Brahma Purāṇa* “is, word for word, the same as that of the Vishṇu Purāṇa;”† to which I add, that Kṛishṇa is not represented in that character in the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa*: for it is in those Purāṇas only that the life of Kṛishṇa is described at length; and, in them, Kṛishṇa invariably appears and acts as a human being, except on occasions when he exerts his divine power; but he is, at the same time, frequently acknowledged and adored as Vishṇu in the incarnate form of Kṛishṇa.‡

† I do not exactly understand what Professor Wilson means by this remark: “Rāma, although an incarnation of Vishṇu, commonly appears [in the *Rāmāyana*,] in his human character alone.” I suppose he means, that Rāma is seldom described, in that poem, as exerting his divine power; for he always appears, in it, as a man, even when he acts as a god. Nor can I understand what the notion is which Professor Wilson has formed of a divine incarnation; for he observes that the character of Kṛishṇa is very *contradictorily* described in the *Mahābhārata*,—usually,

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XXII. Colonel Kennedy here misrepresents.

† *Ibid.*, p. XXIX.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. XV.

All suppositions, therefore, that hero-worship ever prevailed in India, or that it is inculcated in the Purāṇas, or that Viṣṇu and Śiva have ever been worshipped under any other figure or type than such as exist at the present day, are entirely groundless.

It will hence appear that this remark of Professor Wilson must be erroneous: "The proper appropriation of the third [*Rājasa*,¹] class of the Purāṇas, according to the Padma Purāṇa² appears to be the worship of Kṛishṇa . . . as the infant Kṛishṇa, Govinda, Bāla Gopāla, the sojourner in Vrīndāvana, the companion of the cowherds and milkmaids, the lover of Rādhā, or as the juvenile master of the universe, Jagannātha."* But, in the same manner as Professor Wilson thus appropriates, on no grounds whatever, one class of the Purāṇas to the worship of Kṛishṇa, he also appropriates another class, the *Tāmasa*, to the Tāntrika worship. For he remarks: "This last argument is of weight in regard to the particular instance specified; and the designation of Śakti may not be correctly applicable to the whole class, although it is to some of the series: for there is no incompatibility in the advocacy of a Tāntrika modification of the Hindu religion by any Purāṇa."† That is, that there is no incompati-

as a mere mortal, though frequently as a divine person. But is not that precisely the character of an incarnation,—a man, occasionally displaying the powers of a god?

¹ The Purāṇas are divided into three classes, — named *Sāttvika*, *Tāmasa*, and *Rājasa*,—consisting, each, of six Purāṇas.

² No passage in the *Padma Purāṇa* authorizes this remark.

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XXII.

† *Ibid.*, pp. XXI., XXII.

bility in the Purāṇas—which have immemorially been held to be sacred books,—inculcating a worship not only directly contrary to the Vedas, but which even requires, for its due performance, flesh, fish, wine, women, and which is attended “with the most scandalous orgies amongst the votaries.” The mere mention, however, of such an opinion is, alone, sufficient to show its improbability; and Professor Wilson correctly observes: “The occurrence of these impurities is, certainly, countenanced by the texts which the sects regard as authorities, and by a very general belief of their occurrence. The members of the sect are enjoined secrecy,—which, indeed, it might be supposed they would observe on their own account,—and, consequently, will not acknowledge their participation in such scenes.”¹ It is, therefore, surprising that, notwithstanding his own previous account of the Śāktas, he should remark, in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishnū Purāṇa*: “The date of the Kūrma Purāṇa cannot be very remote: for it is, avowedly, posterior to the establishment of the Tāntrika, the Śākta, and the Jaina sects. In the twelfth chapter it is said: ‘The Bhairava, Vāma, Ārhata, and Yāmala Śāstras are intended for delusion.’”² The passage here referred to is, at length, as follows: “Certain acts have been prescribed to Brahmans and others; and for those who do

¹ These three quotations will be found in Professor Wilson’s “Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus,” in the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., pp. 223, 224, 225.†

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. LXXIX., LXXX.

† Or Professor Wilson’s collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 256—260.

not perform these acts are prepared the lowest hells. But there is no other Śāstra than the Vedas which deserves the name of virtuous; and Brahmans, therefore, ought not to delight in reciting the *Yoni Śāstras*, which are of various kinds in this world; because they belong to the quality of darkness, and are contrary to the Śruti and Smṛiti: of these are the Kapāla, the Bhairava, the Yāmala, the Vāma, and the Ārhata. Thus, for the purpose of deception, are there many such Śāstras: and by these false Śāstras are many men deceived." This passage, it is evident, condemns these sects, and could not, therefore, have been written by a person who belonged to some one of them. But I have quoted it in order to show the manner in which allusions to philosophical and religious sects occur, in a few instances, in some of the Purāṇas: for, in all such passages, the name only is mentioned, and the doctrine of the sect is never in the least explained. Before, therefore, it is concluded that the name applies to a sect of modern origin, it should, surely, be first proved that no sect existed in India, under that name, until the establishment of the modern sect. In the above quotation, the worship of Śiva in his terrific character, and of Devī as Śakti, is, no doubt, clearly intimated; but it affords no indication of the date when such worship commenced, or of the period during which it may have been prevalent. But it is stated, in more than one Purāṇa, that the Kapāla sect was coeval with the institution of the worship of the Linga; and its antiquity is, further, rendered probable by its having long become extinct in India; and it is evident that, as the Ārhata is here distinctly called a *Yoni*

(that is, a *Sākta*.) *Sāstra*, this term can have no reference whatever to the Jaina sect. Were, also, the Tāntrika doctrines really inculcated in the Purāṇas, the passages relating to them would be so numerous and explicit as to attract attention; and yet, in my examination of those works, I have never met with a single Tāntrika passage; and Professor Wilson adduces only the above-quoted text of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, which can prove nothing, until the sects alluded to, in it, are satisfactorily ascertained. To found, consequently, any argument with respect to the date when the Purāṇas, as now extant, were written, or their sectarian tendency, on a few obscure passages which occur in them, the precise meaning of which it is now impossible to determine, is, surely, a mode of reasoning which may be justly pronounced to be altogether futile and fallacious.

Professor Wilson also states, in too decided and unqualified a manner, that, "In a word, the religion of the Vedas was not idolatry:"* for he, at the same time, correctly remarks that "It is yet, however, scarcely safe to advance an opinion of the precise† belief or philosophy which they inculcate."‡ But it unquestionably appears, from several of the Upanishads,—which are admitted§ to be portions of the Vedas,—that the principal deities have always been represented by images; and it may, therefore, be justly inferred that image-worship has always formed part of the Hindu religion. In its purest form, however, it

* Vol. I., Preface, p. III: † The word 'precise' was here omitted.

‡ Vol. I., Preface, p. II.

§ Not with any scientific accuracy.

is probable that the worship of images was practised particularly by the inferior castes, and not, generally, by the Brahmans and Kshattriyas: but that, when the strict observance of the system of religious worship prescribed by the Vedas began to decline, then idolatry gradually assumed that form under which it appears in India at the present day. That such a change has taken place in the Hindu religion is clearly shown in the Purāṇas: for, in those works, though the worship of particular deities by various rites and observances is principally inculcated, they still contain numerous passages in which it is explicitly declared that such worship is not the adoration which is most acceptable to the Supreme Being, or the most effectual for obtaining final beatitude.

But the following remarks may appear to fix a modern character on the eighteen Purāṇas, as now extant: "It is a distinguishing feature of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, and it is characteristic of its being the work of an earlier period than most of the Purāṇas, that it enjoins no sectarial, or other acts of supererogation: no Vratas, occasional self-imposed observances; no holydays, no birthdays of Kṛishṇa, no nights dedicated to Lakshmi; no sacrifices or modes of worship other than those conformable to the ritual of the Vedas. It contains no Māhātmyas or golden legends, even of the temples in which Vishṇu is adored."* In these remarks, however, it is *assumed* that sacrifices and modes of worship which are not conformable to the ritual of the Vedas are prescribed in the Purāṇas: but

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. XCIX., C.

this is precisely the question which requires to be proved. It is probable that the worship of images is not authorized by the Vedas; and so far, therefore, the Purāṇas inculcate a mode of worship which is not conformable to the ritual of the Vedas. But idolatry has, unquestionably, existed, in India, from the remotest times; and, consequently, its being inculcated in the Purāṇas cannot be admitted as any proof of their being modern compositions. The invocations, also, and prayers to the different deities, contained in the Purāṇas appear to be in strict accordance with such as are contained in the Vedas; for they are composed of the *Gāyatrī* and, apparently, of other texts of the Vedas; and, although the rites and offerings with which the deities are directed to be worshipped may, probably, differ from the ritual of the Vedas, they still have been, evidently, intended to conform to it, as far as the difference of image-worship would admit of.¹ Sacrifices are not prescribed in the Purāṇas; and the description of such as are mentioned in them is, no doubt, conformable to the ritual of the Vedas. It is not, therefore, the modes of worship which the Purāṇas prescribe, upon which any argument to prove the remodelling of the Hindu religion in modern times can be validly founded; for their simplicity, and their

It is unnecessary to except, expressly, the worship of Devi by the sacrifice of animals; for Professor Wilson has remarked (*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. XVII., p. 219):* "This practice, however, is not considered as orthodox, and approaches rather to the ritual of the Vāṃdcharins; the more pure *Brah* [sacrifice] consisting of edible grain, with milk and sugar."

* Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 251, 252

accordance, in all essential respects, with the ritual of the Vedas must render it most probable that such modes of worship were practised long prior to the Christian era. Nor will the other acts specified by Professor Wilson afford support to his opinion. I do not, indeed, understand what is here intended by "sectarial or other acts of supererogation;" but the fourth order, or that of the ascetic, is mentioned in the Institutes of Manu; and the Yogin is frequently mentioned in the Upanishads; and, surely, the sufferings and deprivations to which the ascetic and Yogin subject themselves, for the purpose of obtaining beatitude, are, decidedly, acts of supererogation. The inculcating, therefore, in the Purāṇas, the advantage to be derived from such acts can be no proof that those works were written in modern times, for sectarian purposes. There then remain to be considered only self-imposed observances, holydays, birthdays of Kṛishṇa, and nights dedicated to Lakshmi. But Professor Wilson has invalidated his argument by the mention of Lakshmi; for, most certainly, that goddess has not been an object of peculiar worship in modern times; and her festival, therefore, must have been derived from the ancient calendar. It is singular, also, that the description of holydays and festivals should be adduced as an argument against the antiquity of a religious work; for these have been coeval with the institution of every religion; and such self-imposed observances as fasts and vows are too common, in all religions, to admit of their mention in a religious work being considered as a valid argument against its antiquity. Such description and mention, therefore, are, in themselves, no proof of the

period when the Purāṇas were composed; and Professor Wilson has not proved (nor can he, I am convinced, prove,) that the deity to whose honour a festival is ascribed in the Purāṇas, or in whose propitiation a fast or vow is directed to be performed, was not worshipped prior to the eighth or ninth century, or that the preceding mode of worship has been since altered. But, until either of these assumptions is proved, it must be evident that the mention of the festival, the fast, or the vow, in any of the Purāṇas, in no manner proves, or even renders it probable, that that Purāṇa did not exist prior to the Christian era, in precisely the same state as that in which it is now extant.

I admit, however, that doubts may be reasonably entertained with respect to the antiquity of some of the legends relating to temples and places of pilgrimage, which are contained in the Purāṇas; for the miscellaneous nature, the want of arrangement, and the humility of style of the Purāṇas would easily admit of an account of a particular temple or place of pilgrimage being interpolated, without the interpolation being liable to detection from the context.* It is, therefore, possible that, when those works are further examined, such interpolations may be discovered in them; but, were it, for instance, even proved that the legend of Jagannātha in the *Brahma Purāṇa* was an interpolation, this would be no proof that that Purāṇa was written for the promotion of the worship of Jagannātha: for it would be much more reasonable to suppose that the Brahmans of that temple had availed

* Contrast what is said in p. 311, note 1, *infra*.

themselves of the original Purāṇa, to introduce into it, and to circulate under the sacredness of its name, the legend which they had composed in honour of their god. When, therefore, a passage occurs in any Purāṇa, which has a modern appearance, it should not, at once, be concluded that the Purāṇa is a modern composition; but it should first be ascertained whether the passage is really modern, and, if so, whether it may not be an interpolation which does not necessarily affect the antiquity of the Purāṇa itself.¹ Nothing, however, is so difficult as to decide satisfactorily on the existence of a supposed interpolation in any work: and, with respect to the Purāṇas, this difficulty, from the reasons just mentioned, and from our almost entire ignorance of the history of India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era, becomes so insuperable as clearly to evince how completely er-

¹ In forming, however, an opinion of the genuineness and entireness of the Purāṇas, as now extant, it should be recollected that these works are written in Sanskrit, and that the Brahmins have always been, alone, acquainted with that language.* The Purāṇas, therefore, circulated amongst the Brahmins only; and it, consequently, seems in the highest degree improbable that the Brahmins of all India would admit into their copies of these sacred books interpolations which were merely intended to serve some local purpose. It is, at least, certain that the manuscripts of the Purāṇas which are, at this day, spread over India, from Cashmere to the extremity of the southern peninsula, and from Agannātha to Dwārakā, contain precisely the same works; and it is, therefore, most probable that the Purāṇas have always been preserved in precisely the same state as that in which they were first committed to writing.

* Never, in all probability, has this been the case.

roneous it must be to conclude, from their internal evidence, that "the Purāṇas are works of evidently different ages, and have been compiled under different circumstances."*

But it is impossible to ascertain, from this Preface, Professor Wilson's precise opinion with respect to what a work ought to be, in order to entitle it to the character of a Purāṇa: for, in speaking of the *Linga*, he remarks: "Data for conjecturing the era of this work are defective. But it is more of a ritual than a Purāṇa; and the Paurāṇik chapters which it has inserted, in order to keep up something of its character, have been, evidently, borrowed for the purpose."† In considering, however, the age and the scope and tendency of the Purāṇas, Professor Wilson has entirely overlooked the sacred character which has immemorially been ascribed to those works: and yet he could not intend to deny so indisputable a fact; in which case it must be evident that the more a Purāṇa is occupied in "narrating legends, and enjoining rites, and reciting prayers,"† the more it maintains its proper character. Professor Wilson, on the contrary, is of opinion that the religious instruction which is contained in the present Purāṇas is a decisive proof that they have undergone some material alteration, and that they are not the same works which were current in the century prior to Christianity. He admits, at the same time, the accuracy of this description of the Purāṇas, as they are:¹ The principal object of the Purāṇas is the moral and

¹ In my work on *Ancient and Hindu Mythology*, p. 150.

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XVI.

† *Ibid.*, p. LXIX.

religious instruction which is inculcated in them, and to which all the legends that they contain are rendered subservient. In fact, the description of the earth and of the planetary system, and the lists of royal races, that occur in them are, evidently, extraneous, and not essential, circumstances; as they are omitted in some Purāṇas, and very concisely discussed in others: while, on the contrary, in all the Purāṇas, some or other of the leading principles, rites, and observances of the Hindu religion are fully dwelt upon, and illustrated, either by suitable legends, or by prescribing the ceremonies to be practised, and the prayers and invocations to be employed, in the worship of different deities. It will, I think, be admitted that these are precisely the topics which ought to occupy a sacred book intended for the religious instruction of the Hindus: and that, consequently, so far from its being supposed that the present Purāṇas have undergone some material alteration in consequence of these topics being their principal subject, this very circumstance should be considered as a conclusive argument in support of their genuineness and antiquity. As, also, the religious instruction contained in the Purāṇas is perfectly uniform, and entirely consistent with the principles of the Hindu religion, and as it, consequently, betrays not the slightest indication of novelty or sectarianism, it must be most consistent with probability to conclude that the eighteen Purāṇas, as now extant, are ancient compositions, and not, as Professor Wilson supposes, an "intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients" with "ancient materials."*

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

I have, thus, examined the arguments adduced, by Professor Wilson, to prove that the books now extant under the name of Purāṇas are not the original eighteen Purāṇas which have been immemorially held to form part of the sacred literature of the Hindus, but works which have been compiled, within the last eight hundred years, from ancient and modern materials, and written in subservience to sectarial imposture. The remarks, however, contained in this and my former letter will, perhaps, evince that those arguments are much too inconsistent and inconclusive to render the antiquity and genuineness of the present Purāṇas in the least questionable. The admission, indeed, that the original Purāṇas were extant in the century prior to the Christian era, is, alone, sufficient to invalidate all suppositions of their being, now, no longer in existence; and, unless, therefore, the time and manner of their becoming extinct are proved, it must be evident that inferences resting merely on their internal evidence cannot be received as any proof that the original Purāṇas have not been preserved until the present day. For all reasoning founded on the internal evidence which the Purāṇas may afford on any point can be of no avail; as there are, I believe, scarcely any persons competent to decide upon its correctness; and the different conclusions which Professor Wilson and myself have drawn from this internal evidence must show that the impression received from it depends entirely on the disposition of mind and the spirit of research with which the Purāṇas are perused. I read them with a mind perfectly free from all preconceived opinion, and with the sole object of making myself

acquainted with the mythology and religion of the Hindus; and I did not observe, in them, the slightest indication of their having been written in modern times, for sectarian purposes: but, on the contrary, their perusal irresistibly led me to conclude that they must have been written at some remote period. Even Professor Wilson has not been able to resist this impression of their antiquity: for he declares that it is "as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the contents of" the Purāṇas.* † Why, therefore, he should have endeavoured—particularly, in his account of each of the Purāṇas,—to demonstrate that those works are modern compilations, and that, in consequence, "they are no longer authorities for Hindu belief, as a whole," but special guides for separate and, sometimes, conflicting ranches of it,‡ I pretend not to conjecture.

But it is very evident that Professor Wilson examined the Purāṇas with a preconceived opinion of their being modern compilations, and of their containing an account of the sects which have originated in India in modern times:† for it is only from the influence of such a preconceived opinion that can have proceeded

* I cannot avoid observing, with reference to Professor Wilson's account of the manner in which his analyses of the Purāṇas are made, contained in No. IX. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, p. 61, § that it appears to me that no series of indices, abstracts, and translations of particular parts of the Purāṇas will ever enable any person either to form, himself, or to

* The words 'the contents of' were omitted by the Colonel.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX. ; *Ibid.*, p. V.

§ Or Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. III., p. 2. Also see Vol. III. of the present Work, p. 225, last foot-note.

the contradictory and fallacious reasoning, with respect to the age and the scope and tendency of the Purāṇas, which is contained in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*. Because that reasoning rests entirely on two assumptions, neither of which is proved nor can be proved: the one, that a genuine Purāṇa should treat of profane subjects only; and the other, that the works now extant under the name of Purāṇas were written in modern times, for sectarian purposes. Thus, in the account of each of the Purāṇas, it is pronounced that the main object of the *Brahma* is the promotion of the worship of Jagannātha (Kṛishṇa), and that there is little, in it, which corresponds with the definition of a Purāṇa; that the different portions of the *Padma* "are, in all probability, as many different works, neither of which approaches to the original definition of a Purāṇa;" that the *Linga* "is more a ritual than a Purāṇa;" that the *Brahma Vairarta* "has not the slightest title to be regarded as a Purāṇa;" that the date of the *Kārma* "cannot be very remote, for it is, avowedly,

communicate to others, "a correct notion of the substance and character of those works." The Purāṇa must not only be read from beginning to end, but examined over again more than once, before any person can be qualified to pronounce a decided judgment upon its age, scope, or tendency. The most ample index of its contents will never suggest or supply those reflections which necessarily arise during its perusal, and which, alone, can produce a correct opinion with respect to the connexion which the different parts of the Purāṇa bear to each other, and with respect to the principal or accessory objects of its composition. A more attentive consideration of the context, for instance, would, perhaps, have prevented Professor Wilson from quoting the line of the *Kārma Purāṇa*, on which I have remarked in this letter.

posterior to the establishment of the Tántrika, the Śákta, and the Jaina sects;”* and so with respect to the other Puráñas. It will not, however, be denied that nothing but the most attentive and repeated actual perusal of the whole of each and all of the Puráñas would warrant such positive and unqualified assertions, and that nothing but satisfactory proof of such perusal would entitle them to the least credit; and yet Professor Wilson has stated that the Puráñas comprehend a quantity of lines which any European scholar could scarcely expect to peruse with care and attention, unless his whole time were devoted, exclusively, for very many years, to the task.¹ Professor Wilson, therefore, is not, according to his own admission, qualified to decide *ex cathedra* on the age, or the scope and tendency, of the Puráñas. His reasoning, also, in support of the opinions which he had expressed on these points is singularly illogical: for he, first, assumes that a genuine Purána ought to treat of such and such topics only, and then—as not one of the present Puráñas conforms to the definition² assumed,—he at once concludes that those works are modern compilations. But, as the definition fails in eighteen instances, it must appear most

¹ *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. IX., p. 61.†

² Professor Wilson, also, has not translated this definition literally from the Sanskrit; and he, thus, argues, not on it, but on the meaning which he has, himself, thought proper to give to the definition. Literally translated, it can mean nothing more than “creation, † repeated creation, races or families, *manvantaras*, § and

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. XXVIII., XXXIII., LXIX., LXVII., and LXXIX.

† *Vide supra*, p. 297, note §.

‡ See the Colonel's remark on *sarga*, in p. 259, *supra*.

§ This is transliteration, not translation.

probable that it was never intended to be understood in the very restricted sense which Professor Wilson applies to it; and, in my former letter, I have shown that two of the topics, at least, comprise much more than what he has included under them. The non-conformity, however, of the contents of the present Purāṇas to this assumed definition—the precise extent and meaning of which are not ascertained,—is, in fact, the only argument which is adduced, by Professor Wilson, to prove that the works now bearing the name of Purāṇas are not the original Purāṇas, and the only ground on which he pronounces that this or that one of those works does not correspond with the definition of a genuine Purāṇa. But the mere statement of such an argument is, surely, quite sufficient to expose its total invalidity. The other assumption is not only equally groundless, but it is even disproved by Professor Wilson himself; for he has rested his argument, in support of it, entirely on Krishna being, as the juvenile Kṛishna, the peculiar object of worship of a sect of known modern origin; and yet he is obliged to admit that what accompanies races.” To found, therefore, an argument against the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant, on such a definition, is, surely, a most singular and futile mode of reasoning.*

* This is hypercriticism. For the original terms referred to, see Vol. I. Preface, p. VII., note 1; also, Vol. III., p. 67, and p. 71, note; and *supra*, pp. 109 and 244. Professor Wilson's expansions to be found in Vol. I. Preface, p. VII., are fully authorized. Colebrooke, in his edition of the *Amara-loka*, p. 33, following the authority of scholiasts, defines a Purāṇa to be “theogony, comprising past and future events, under five heads: the creation; the destruction and renovation of worlds; genealogy of gods and heroes; the reigns of Manus; and the transactions of their descendants.”

Krishna is not represented in that character in three of the Purāṇas in which his life is related at length. The only proof, also, of the Tāntrika doctrines being inculcated in the Purāṇas, which is adduced, is a single obscure line of the *Kūrma Purāṇa*.^{*} But, were that the case, there could have been no difficulty in quoting numerous Tāntrika passage from some one or other of the Purāṇas: and, as, therefore, Professor Wilson has not supported his opinion by producing such passages, it may be justly concluded that not one of the Purāṇas in any manner advocates "a Tāntrika modification of the Hindu religion."[†]

The more, therefore, that I consider the remarks contained in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, the more am I at a loss to understand how Professor Wilson could express such contradictory opinions. For he maintains, for instance, "that Brahmans unknown to fame have remodelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and, especially, the Purāṇas, cannot reasonably be contested:"[‡] but he equally contends that the internal evidence of the Purāṇas furnishes decisive proof "of the anterior existence of ancient materials; and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the contents of the Purāṇas."[§] On the contrary, it would, surely, be irrational to admit either, after Professor Wilson has proved as he supposes, that the works now bearing the name of Purāṇas are "an intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively

^{*} See Vol. I., Preface, pp. LXXIX., LXXX.

[†] *Ibid.*, pp. XXI–XXII. ; *Ibid.*, pp. XCVIII., XCIX.

[§] *Ibid.*, p. XCIX.

modern ingredients,"* and that not one of those works conforms to the definition of a genuine Purāṇa. It becomes, therefore, requisite either to deny the antiquity and authenticity of the present Purāṇas, or to contest the assumption that the Brahmans have remodelled their sacred books,—a supposition so totally improbable, that nothing but the most clear and incontrovertible proof could render it at all credible. Until, consequently, Professor Wilson produces such proof, it must appear most rational and reasonable to conclude that the Brahmans have never remodelled their sacred books (as no motive for their doing so can be conceived), and that the Purāṇas now extant, having been preserved in the same manner as other Sanskrit manuscripts of the same period, are, in all essential respects, precisely the same works which were current in India in the century prior to the Christian era.

Bombay, 29th Sept., 1840.

VAN S KENNEDY.

SIR: Notwithstanding my two former letters, there are still one or two points on which I would wish to offer a few remarks, in order to complete my observations on Professor Wilson's objections to the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant. For it will, I think, be admitted that this question is discussed in a very unsatisfactory manner in the Pre-

* See Vol. I. Preface, p. XCIX. Only Professor Wilson makes not such assertion. His words are quoted correctly in p. 295, *ad calcem supra*.

face to his Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*: as that Preface contains merely the conclusions which Professor Wilson has drawn from certain circumstances that are represented solely according to the view which he has taken of them; and, thus, the reader is not afforded the means of judging whether this view is correct, or otherwise. But an inquirer into the real character of the mythology and religion of the Hindus would, no doubt, wish to know the grounds on which Professor Wilson states: "It is not possible to conjecture when this more simple and primitive form of adoration [of the Vedas.] was succeeded by the worship of images and types, representing Brahmá, Vishnu, Śiva, and other imaginary beings, constituting a mythological pantheon of most ample extent; or when Rāma and Kṛishṇa, who appear to have been, originally, real and historical characters, were elevated to the dignity of divinities."* In that Preface, however, and in all, I believe, that Professor Wilson has yet published respecting the Purāṇas,—the most questionable assertions are made in the most positive manner; but they remain unsupported by either argument or authority; and, consequently, not even the deference which is justly due to Professor Wilson, as an accomplished Sanskrit scholar, should preclude an examination of his opinions, or the rejection of such as are inconsistent in themselves, or contrary to probability and evidence.

It is particularly remarkable that, in that Preface, Professor Wilson has passed over a material fact, the sacred character of the Purāṇas, without a due consideration of which it is impossible to form a correct

* Vol. I, Preface, p. IV.

judgment with respect to their age, and their scope and tendency. But it is undeniable that certain works named Purāṇas have immemorially been held, by the Hindus, to be sacred books of divine origin, and, therefore, entitled to the greatest veneration. Even at the present day, those works are regarded with the same reverence, and are, in consequence, considered to be incommunicable to Śūdras, women, and barbarians;* and, on this account, a Brahman in my employment declined to read the Purāṇas with me: while another Brahman, though he conversed with me on the subjects treated of in those works, and even gave me hints where to find particular passages, would not open the Purāṇa in which they were contained, in my presence, and show me the passages.† In judging, therefore, whether the Purāṇas now extant have been preserved, to the present day, in precisely the same state as that in which they were first committed to writing, the sacred character of those books should, most assuredly, be taken into consideration, and not passed over as of no consequence: for this circumstance, alone, renders it, in the highest degree, improbable that the Brahmans would allow the Purāṇas to be lost, and utterly incredible that they would suppress any one of those sacred books, and substitute, in its place, another work of the same name. On this incredible supposition, however, Professor Wilson's opinion, that the present Purāṇas are modern compilations, entirely rests. But he has not attempted to explain the manner in which the replacing of the original Pu-

* A grosser error than this was never committed to paper.

† Colonel Kennedy's Brāhmans must have been very peculiar.

ráñas by new works was effected; and, consequently, his positive and unqualified statement, that the date of the earliest of the present Puráñas is not prior to the ninth century, is a mere gratuitous assertion, which is not only contrary to probability, but which is even left unsupported by any proof whatever. But every principle of reasoning requires that, before the conclusion is drawn, the premisses of the argument should be, first, established; and, as, therefore, Professor Wilson has neither proved nor rendered probable the premisses from which he draws the startling and questionable conclusion, that the present Puráñas have no title to be regarded as genuine Puráñas, it must be evident that his opinion on this point must be considered to be totally groundless.

Another point essential to the proper discussion of this question is, the ascertaining what it is that should be held to constitute a genuine Puráña; although it might be supposed that no difference of opinion could exist respecting it: for, the Puráñas being sacred books, their contents should, of course, relate, principally, to the rites, ceremonies, offerings, prayers, and invocations with which the deities mentioned in them are to be worshipped, and to the legends and doctrines of the Hindu religion. Professor Wilson, on the contrary, has stated that "The earliest inquiries into the religion, chronology, and history of the Hindus ascertained that there existed a body of writings especially devoted to those subjects.... These were the Puráñas of Sanskrit literature."¹*

¹ In the Analysis of the *Brahma Puráña*, contained in No. IX.

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. III., p. 1.

But this statement is altogether erroneous; for not a single Purāṇa contains chronology and history, in the meaning usually given to these terms; and, in the description of a Purāṇa, given in that Analysis, are omitted that essential part of all the Purāṇas which treats of the mythology and religion of the Hindus, and that part which has induced Professor Wilson to pronounce that the *Linga* is more of a ritual than a Purāṇa. In his examination, therefore, of the Purāṇas, he has, avowedly, overlooked topics the due consideration of which is indispensable for the forming a correct opinion of their age, object, and tendency. But this will be best rendered evident by a few remarks on his Analysis of the *Brahma Purāṇa*, contained in No. IX. of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

In my last letter I was unavoidably led to observe that Professor Wilson had, evidently, examined the Purāṇas under the influence of preconceived opinion; and this Analysis completely confirms that remark: for, at its very commencement, he states that "the first verses of the *Brahma Purāṇa*" "sufficiently declare its sectarian bias, and indicate it to be a Vaishṇava work."* But, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus",†

of the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*. In this‡ it is also said that a genuine Purāṇa "should treat of the creation and renovation§ of the universe, the division of time, the institutes of law and religion, the genealogies of the patriarchal families, and the dynasties of kings." But no other topics than these are mentioned.

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. III., p. 8, 9.

† *Ibid.*, Vol. I., pp. 3 and 30.

‡ *Ibid.*, Vol. III., p. 1.

§ General Kennedy omitted the words "and renovation".

Professor Wilson admits that the preferential worship of Vishnú is perfectly orthodox; and, in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishnú Purána*, he states that one-third only of the *Brahma Purána* is dedicated to Vishnú's incarnation as Jagannátha.* Consequently, it is evident that this Purána is neither sectarian nor exclusively dedicated to the legend of Jagannátha. But this erroneous impression has, evidently, led him to affirm, as erroneously, (unless my copy of this Purána differs from his), that "the first chapter of the Purána describes the creation, which it attributes to Náráyana or Vishnú, as one with Brahmá or Íswara." For the only verse to which he can refer will bear no other meaning than this: "Comprehend, O reverend Munis, Brahmá, of boundless splendour, the creator of all beings, Náráyana, the all-pervading."¹ But this error is of material importance; because, in this Purána, Brahmá is represented as the Supreme Being; and, had it, therefore, been composed after the general worship of Brahmá had entirely ceased,—as it did in remote times,—and the preeminence (as at this day,) of either Vishnú or Śiva had been established, it seems altogether improbable that such a distinction would have been ascribed to Brahmá by any writer. The representing, consequently, Brahmá as the Supreme Being, in four of the Puránas,—the *Brahma*,

१ तं बुद्ध्वा मुनिश्रेष्ठा ब्रह्माणममितीजसम् ।

स्रष्टारं सर्वभूतानां नारायणं परायणम् ॥

It is quite clear that *Náráyaṇam* is here placed in apposition with *Brahmánam*, and that it is, therefore, an epithet of Brahmá, and not of Vishnú.

* Not so. See Vol. I., Preface, p. XXVIII., note 1.

Vāyu, *Kūrma*, and *Brahmānda*,—was a circumstance which, certainly, deserved particular attention; because it corresponds with the character in which Brahmā is represented in several of the Upanishads and in the Institutes of Manu. When, therefore, a circumstance so indicative of the antiquity of the Purāṇas is passed over by Professor Wilson, it must be evident that his conjectures respecting the dates when those works, as now extant, were compiled, are not entitled to the slightest consideration.

Professor Wilson also attaches no importance to the long account of the Sun and his worship, which is contained in the *Brahma Purāṇa*; although this, undoubtedly, indicates that it cannot be a modern composition. And a similar description of the worship of the Sun, contained in the *Linga Purāṇa*, is not even noticed by him, notwithstanding that it contains the *Gāyatrī* and, apparently, other verses of the Vedas. But it seems unquestionable that, if the Sun was ever an object of popular worship in remote antiquity, this worship had assumed a mysterious character at the time that the Vedas received their present form, and had become restricted to the Brahmans; for Mr. Ward has correctly observed that “the Brahmans consider Sūrya as one of the greatest of the gods; because, in glory, he resembles the one Brahma, who is called *tejomaṃya*, or ‘the glorious’.” In the Vedas, also, this god is much noticed. The celebrated invocation called the *Gāyatrī*, and many of the forms of meditation, prayer, and praise, used in the daily ceremonies of the Brahmans, are addressed to him.”¹ The descriptions, there-

¹ Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. I., p. 50.

fore, of a worship so ancient and so celebrated in the Vedas, contained in at least two of the Purāṇas,¹ should not, surely, have been overlooked by Professor Wilson, when deciding upon the period when the present Purāṇas were compiled; for these descriptions clearly prove that those works must be ancient, and not modern, compositions.

In the same manner, Professor Wilson takes no notice of the identification, in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, of Brahmá, Vishṇu, Śiva, and Sūrya with the Supreme Being; but, on the contrary, he contends that its main object is the promotion of the worship of Jagannátha. This conclusion, however, is directly contradicted by the contents of that Purāṇa; because it appears, from them, that the legend of Jagannátha occupies one-third only of the work, and that, in it, preeminence is not attributed exclusively to Vishṇu. It is, hence, evident that the view taken by Professor Wilson of the object and tendency of the Purāṇas cannot possibly be correct; since he, thus, discovers a sectarial bias in a Purāṇa which so clearly illustrates that predominant principle of the Hīṇdu religion which inculcates that the preferential worship of particular deities is equally meritorious; for it is, in fact, the worship of the Supreme Being under those forms. But Professor Wilson is not content with pronouncing that the *Brahma Purāṇa* is a Vaishṇava work; for he, at the same time, states that it "is referred to the Śákta class, in

¹ This worship is also mentioned in the *Garuda Purāṇa*; but I do not immediately recollect whether it is mentioned in any other of the Purāṇas.

which the worship of Śakti, the personified female principle, is more particularly inculcated.”* It is not for me to explain how any composition can be both a Vaishṇava and a Tāntrika work; but the assumption that there is a class of Purāṇas denominated *Śākta* is totally unfounded. The division of the Purāṇas into three classes is mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa* alone; and all that is said, in it, is, that such and such Purāṇas—naming them,—are included in the *Sāttwika*, *Rājasa*, or *Tāmasa* class.¹ Nothing, therefore, contained in the *Padma Purāṇa* in the least authorizes the remark just quoted; and in not one of the Purāṇas is Devī ever represented under the same character as the Śakti of the Tāntrika sect. It, hence, unquestionably appears that Professor Wilson has completely mistaken the object and tendency of the very Purāṇa which he professes to have carefully analysed; and it must, therefore, follow that indices and abstracts of the Purāṇas will never enable any person to form, himself, or to communicate to others, “a correct notion of the substance and character of these works.”†

Professor Wilson, however, hesitates not to pronounce that “It is, nevertheless, obvious that such a Brahma Purāṇa as has been here described cannot have any pretension to be considered as an ancient work, as the earliest of the Purāṇas, or even as a Purāṇa at

¹ This division, also, is entirely fanciful; for there is nothing contained in any one of the Purāṇas which at all justifies it; as the subjects treated of in those works are of precisely a similar nature, and, in all of them, the same tenets and doctrines are inculcated.

* Professor Wilson's *collected Works*, Vol. III., p. 9. † *Ibid.*, p. 6.

all.”* He, thus, first gives a completely erroneous account of the real nature of the contents of this Purāṇa, and then concludes that it is not even a Purāṇa at all! The question, also, recurs: What is a Purāṇa? Professor Wilson contends that it is a work which “should treat” only “of the creation and renovation of the universe, the division of time, the institutes of law and religion, the genealogies of the patriarchal families, and the dynasties of kings:” but the Sanskrit authority to which he refers, and which occurs at the commencement of several of the Purāṇas, says, merely, “creation, repeated creation, families, *manwantaras*, and what accompanies families.”† From such a definition as this it is obvious that no opinion can be formed with respect to the subjects which should, alone, be treated of in a Purāṇa; and yet Professor Wilson’s objections to the genuineness of the Purāṇas, as now extant, rests principally on their non-conformity to this unintelligible definition. For this appears to be the only reason that has led him to pronounce that the *Brahma* is not even a Purāṇa at all; because “the greater portion of the work belongs to the class of Māhātmyas,¹—

¹ There is no class of Māhātmyas; but passages, bearing that name, the authenticity of which cannot be contested,—as, for instance, the *Devī Māhātmya*; in the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*,—have been extracted from the Purāṇas, and circulated as distinct works; and there seems to be no doubt that, in later times, works have been written in imitation of the authentic Māhātmyas; but their

* Professor Wilson’s collected Works, Vol. III., pp. 16, 17.

† *Vide supra*, p. 299, note 2, and p. 300, note •.

‡ It would be curious to know why the Colonel[•] excepted it.

legendary and local descriptions of the greatness or holiness of particular temples, or individual divinities.”* But, as usual, he does not explain why the description of a particular temple, or an individual divinity, should be considered as incompatible with the ancient and original composition of the Purāṇa in which it is contained. He merely assumes that the temple of Kanārka, mentioned in this Purāṇa, is the same as the Black Pagoda, built A.D. 1241, and that the temple of Jagannātha of the Purāṇa is the same as that which was built in A.D. 1198; and hence concludes that the *Brahma Purāṇa* was written in the course of the thirteenth or fourteenth century.† But he adduces neither argument nor proof in support of this assumption; although, in order to warrant it, it was indispensable to prove that no temple of Kanārka or Jagannātha ever existed in the same situations until the present temples were erected. For it may be equally assumed that the temples mentioned in this Purāṇa were built, and had attained celebrity, several centuries prior to the Christian era; and in what manner is this assumption to be disproved? The history of India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era is almost unknown; and consequently, there are, now, no means available for determining the dates when the temples were erected when the places of pilgrimage acquired holiness, when spuriousness can always be detected by their not being to be found in the Purāṇas; to which they are ascribed.

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. III., p. 17. † *Ibid.*, p. 18

‡ And the *Māhātmyas* therein found are, in all likelihood, later than their contexts.

the kings and distinguished personages lived,* or when the events occurred which are mentioned in the Purāṇas. To all these works this remark of Professor Wilson applies: "The Vishṇu Purāṇa has kept very clear of particulars from which an approximation to its date may be conjectured."† For, as far as I have observed, not one of the Purāṇas contains a single circumstance from which it would be possible to determine even the period when it may have been composed. The mere supposition, therefore, that the temples mentioned in the *Brahma Purāṇa* are the same as those built in A.D. 1198 and 1241 cannot be admitted as a sufficient ground for deciding that that Purāṇa is of modern date; for there is nothing improbable in concluding that other temples of the same names, and in the same situations, may have existed long before those erected in modern times were in existence.

The only reason, also, that can have led Professor Wilson to suppose that descriptions of temples and places of pilgrimage should not be contained in the Purāṇas, is the above-mentioned definition: as it, certainly, does not include such a topic. But it is highly probable that pilgrimages to sacred places, and the visiting of temples, was practised, in remote times, by the Hindus, as they are practised by them at the present day; and no subject, therefore, could be more adapted to such a sacred book as a Purāṇa, than de-

* Inscriptions have brought us acquainted with not a few facts tending to fix the age of later Paurāṇik celebrities. And, inscriptions apart, could Colonel Kennedy doubt our knowing the age of Chandragupta?

† Vol. I., Preface, p. CXI.

scriptions of those celebrated places and temples a pilgrimage to which was deemed to be a pious and meritorious act.* The legends, also, relating to temples and places of pilgrimage, which occur in the Puráñas, are of precisely the same kind as those which have found a place in all religions, and cannot, consequently, be considered, in themselves, to be any proof against the antiquity of the Puráña in which they are contained. Many of those places of pilgrimage are not frequented at the present day, and some of them cannot, now, be even ascertained: which circumstances must render it highly probable that they are of a remote period, and that they would not have been mentioned in a particular Puráña, had they not been held in reverence at the time when it was composed. I admit that this is an unsatisfactory mode of arguing; but, in this instance, to supposition supposition can alone be opposed; for, as I have just observed, the internal evidence of the Puráñas affords no means of determining the date of any circumstance mentioned in them.

In his Analysis, therefore, of the *Brahma Puráña*, Professor Wilson has, evidently, not only omitted circumstances which are essential to the forming a correct judgment of its object and tendency, but he has, also, under the obvious influence of preconceived opinion, found, in it, *that which it does not contain*, and attached an undue importance to an unintelligible definition, and to one-third only of the work, without taking the other two-thirds into his consideration.

* Temples and pilgrimages were not Hindu institutions "in remote times."

But nothing can more clearly evince the disposition of mind, and the attention with which Professor Wilson has examined the Purāṇas, than this elaborate passage, contained in p. LIX. of the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*: “A considerable portion [of the *Agni Purāṇa*] is then appropriated to instructions for the performance of religious ceremonies, many of which belong to the Tāntrika ritual, and are, apparently, transcribed from the principal authorities of that system. Some belong to mystical forms of Śaiva worship, little known in Hindusthān, though, perhaps, still practised in the south. One of these is the Dikshá, or initiation of a novice: *by which, with numerous ceremonies and invocations, in which the mysterious monosyllables of the Tantras are constantly repeated, the disciple is transformed into a living personation of Śiva, and receives, in that capacity, the homage of his Guru.*”¹ For, throughout this passage, some one or other of the names of Vishṇu continually occurs; and it is evident, therefore, that the passage relates to Vishṇu, and not to Śiva. In regard, also to the *dikshá*, these verses, contained in the 27th Chapter, will be sufficient to prove that this initiation is in the name of Vishṇu, and not of Śiva: “Having propitiated Fire, sacrifice to Vishṇu: and, then, having called the novices, initiate them standing near.”² This *dikshá* is

¹ Nothing contained in the passage of the *Agni Purāṇa* here referred to in any manner authorizes the words which I have placed in italics. Mysterious monosyllables, also, are perfectly orthodox; for they occur in the *Upanishads*.

² मय्यग्रेऽथ यजेद्विष्णुं ततः संतर्प्य पादुगम् ।
आह्वय दीवयेच्छिष्यान्बहुपन्यासमस्त्रितान् ॥

also mentioned in the *Garuḍa Purāṇa*, in which it is equally said that the initiation is in the name of Hari or Vishṇu; and not one of the prayers and invocations contained in those two passages is taken from the Tāntrika ritual. It is, indeed, surprising that, after having written the accurate account¹ of the Śākta sect, contained in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," Professor Wilson should state that the *Garuḍa Purāṇa* contains prayers from the Tāntrika ritual, addressed to the Sun, Śiva, and Vishṇu; for he must be well aware that the Tāntrika sect do not worship either Vishṇu or the Sun. As, however, Professor Wilson has, in that Sketch, confined himself principally to the description of its distinguishing characteristics, — the *kumārī-pūjā*, or worship of the virgin, — I add these remarks of Mr. Ward, in order to evince how totally impossible it must be to find such doctrines in the Purāṇas: "The Tantras either set aside all these ceremonies [of the Vedas], or prescribe them in other

¹ I, of course, except this passage: "The adoration of Prakṛiti or Śakti is, to a certain extent, authorized by the Purāṇas, particularly the Brahma Vaiivarta, the Skanda, and the Kālikā;"* the erroneousness of which I have, perhaps, demonstrated in these letters. I am, indeed, strongly inclined to suspect that Professor Wilson's employment of indices and abstracts for the examination of the Purāṇas has often led him to conclude that the term Śakti, which occurs so frequently in those works, denoted Devi in her character of Śakti, as worshipped by the Śāktas. But, in the Purāṇas, this term means power and energy in general; and, when it does not, it invariably denotes the energy of the Supreme Being, or Māyā, or the impersonified energies of the three principal gods.

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 247, 248.

forms." The Tántrika prayers, even for the same ceremony, differ from those of the Veda; and, in certain cases, they dispense with all ceremonies; assuring men that it is sufficient for a person to receive the initiatory incantation from his religious guide, to repeat the name of his guardian deity, and to serve his teacher. They actually forbid the person called *púrnábhishikta* to follow the rules of the Veda."¹

In that Preface,* also, Professor Wilson observes: "Colonel Vans Kennedy, however, objects to the application of the term Śákta to this last division of the Purāṇas [the *Rājasa*]; the worship of Śakti being the especial object of a different class of works, the Tantras; and no such form of worship being particularly inculcated in the Brahma Purāṇa. This last argument is of weight in regard to the particular instance specified; and the designation of Śakti may not be correctly applicable to the whole class, although it is to some of the series: for there is no incompatibility in the advocacy of a Tántrika modification of the Hindu religion by any Purāṇa." Professor Wilson is, thus, obliged to admit that he had completely mistaken the tendency of a Purāṇa which he had analysed; and yet he not only adheres to his opinion, that some of the Purāṇas belong to his imaginary Śákta class, but he has even advanced, in that Preface,†, these extraordinary assertions: "The term Rājasa, implying the animation of passion, and enjoyment of sensual delights, is appli-

¹ Ward's *View of the Hindus*, Vol. IV., p. 365.

* Pp. XXI., XXII.

† P. XXII.

cable not only to the character of the youthful divinity [Kṛishṇa], but to those with whom his adoration in these forms seems to have originated,—the Gosains of Gokul and Bengal, the followers and descendants of Vallabha and Chaitanya, the priests and proprietors of Jagannāth and Śrīnāthdwār, who lead a life of affluence and indulgence, and vindicate, both by precept and practice, the reasonableness of the Rājasa property, and the congruity of temporal enjoyment with the duties of religion.” All this, however, is not only totally erroneous, but it rests entirely on certain fanciful inferences which Professor Wilson has drawn from the meaning of the term *Rājasa*; which is, certainly, a most singular mode of reasoning. He is, here, also in direct contradiction with himself; for, in one part of the paragraph from which this quotation is taken, he says that the *Rājasa* Purāṇas “lean to the Śākta division of the Hindus, the worshippers of Śakti, or the female principle;” and, in conclusion, he speaks of persons vindicating “the reasonableness of the Rājasa property, and the congruity of temporal enjoyment with the duties of religion.” But Professor Wilson attempts not to explain how it can be possible that the same class of Purāṇas should inculcate the peculiar worship of both Kṛishṇa and Śakti; nor what the leading a life of affluence and indulgence has to do with worshipping the *yoni* of a naked virgin; nor what resemblance there can be between the scandalous and abominable orgies of the Śāktas, and the calm though sensual enjoyment of life by the votaries of Kṛishṇa, as above described. Nothing, indeed, can be more dissimilar than the worship of the juvenile Kṛishṇa and that of Śakti; and,

when, therefore, Professor Wilson is of opinion that, in some of the Purāṇas, both of these dissimilar worships are peculiarly enjoined, it must be evident that he has as much mistaken the object and tendency of the *Brahmānda*, the *Brahma Vaivarta*, the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, the *Bhaviṣhya*, and *Vāmana Purāṇas*, as he admits he was mistaken in placing the *Brahma Purāṇa* in the Śākta class. I have also remarked, above, that this division of the Purāṇas into three classes is mentioned in the *Padma Purāṇa* alone; and that this Purāṇa does not explain the reason why a particular Purāṇa is assigned to a particular class. But, admitting this classification, it appears clearly, from it, that the Purāṇas relating to Śiva are placed in the *Tāmasa* class; and, consequently, as Tāntrika works are dedicated to Śiva and Devī, if the *Rājasa* class of Purāṇas inculcate Tāntrika doctrines,—as Professor Wilson supposes,—they ought, according to the principle of classification in the *Padma Purāṇa*, to have been included in the *Tāmasa*, and not in the *Rājasa*, class. The writer, however, of that Purāṇa has not so classed them; and, thus, all the reasoning which Professor Wilson has founded on the meaning of the term *Rājasa* is refuted by the very authority that he has adduced in support of it.

It is, at the same time, obvious that all the arguments adduced by Professor Wilson against the genuineness of the Purāṇas, as now extant, presuppose that descriptions of rites and ceremonies, injunctions for the preferential worship of particular deities, legends, tenets and doctrines, and moral and religious instruction should not find a place in a genuine Purāṇa; for

he takes no notice of those parts of the present Purāṇas which relate to these subjects, and, thus, rejects at least two-thirds of the whole of the eighteen Purāṇas now extant, as being spurious and modern. But it is evident that it is only from a due consideration of these subjects, and a careful comparison of what is said, respecting them, in one Purāṇa, with what is said in the other Purāṇas, that a correct opinion can possibly be formed with respect to whether those works exhibit one uniform religious system, or whether they indicate that heterodox doctrines have been introduced into them; for, if an undeniable uniformity exists—as I have no doubt it does,—in an aggregate of 1,600,000 lines, in the general description of rites, ceremonies, legends, and doctrines, no stronger internal evidence is, surely, requisite, to prove that the present Purāṇas cannot be, as Professor Wilson supposes, an intermixture of ancient and modern ingredients.† Professor Wilson also avows that he has not read the Purāṇas, and that the notices which he has given of their contents must have been taken from indices and abstracts, the accuracy of which I have never questioned.¹ But I am convinced that

¹ In his *Analysis of the Brahma Purāṇa*, Professor Wilson has observed* that the manner in which he effected his examination of the Purāṇas has been misconceived; and he may, possibly, refer to a letter which I addressed to you, and which appeared in the number of your *Journal* of March, 1837. In that letter I remarked, in a note: “Was any precaution adopted in order to ascertain that all the chapters of each Purāṇa, or even all the subjects treated of, in it, were actually included in it?”

* *Collected Works*, Vol. III., p. 6.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

such a manner of examining the Purāṇas will never enable any person to form any but an erroneous judgment of the real nature and genuineness of their contents. Had, for instance, Professor Wilson actually read even that division of the *Brahma Vaivarta Purāṇa* which is dedicated particularly, *but not exclusively*, to the life of Kṛishṇa, he would have found, in it, several conversations between Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, in which Kṛishṇa relates, in the most orthodox manner, several legends and particulars of Hindu mythology, and instructs Rādhā in the abstruse doctrines of Hindu theology; and, even in one of those conversations, is contained a long orthodox account of Śiva, Sati, and Pārvatī. The ritual, also, prescribed, in it, for the celebration of Kṛishṇa's annual festival, is perfectly orthodox; for it directs that, in performing it, texts of the *Sāma Veda* should be recited: besides which, three divisions of this Purāṇa are dedicated to Brahmā, Devī, and Gaṇeśa: so that, in fact, there is not, perhaps, more than one-sixth of the whole work that is occupied with descriptions of Kṛishṇa. Yet this is the work the character of which Professor Wilson pronounces to be, "in truth, so decidedly secta-

For any omission of them would, obviously, prevent an accurate opinion being formed of its contents." The indices and abstracts may be quite correct, as far as they go; but the question is, Are they full and complete? And, as it cannot be supposed that Professor Wilson has omitted, in his notices of the Purāṇas, those particulars, contained in them, which were contrary to his view of the subject, these letters will sufficiently show that no precaution was adopted to render those indices and abstracts full and complete, and that omissions of essential importance have, in consequence, taken place in them.

rial," as to give it "not the slightest title to be regarded as a Purāṇa."*

I shall pursue the subject in a succeeding letter.

Bombay, 30th October, 1840.

VANS KENNEDY.

SIR: I proceed with reluctance, however, to consider another of Professor Wilson's arguments, in which he infers that the present Purāṇas must be modern compilations, because the Jāinas are mentioned in them. But, in my last letter, † I have shown that, had Professor Wilson read the chapter of the *Kūrma Purāṇa* from which he has made a mutilated quotation, he would have observed, from the context, that the term *Ārḥata*, contained in it, could not possibly apply to Jina; and, in the passage which he quotes from the *Bhāgavata*, ‡ there is neither proof nor probability that *Ārḥata* means either Jina or the Jaina sect. § It is, also, expressly said, in the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, Vol. III., p. 209, the Buddhists "were called Ārḥatas, from the phrase he (Buddha) had employed, of 'Ye are worthy (Arhatha) of this great doctrine.'" It is singular, there-

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. LXVI. and LXVII.

† The Colonel should have written "my last letter but one". *Vide supra*, pp. 286, 287.

‡ Vol. II., p. 104, note 1. Arhat, a proper name, occurs there.

§ Ārḥata, according to circumstances, may denote either a follower of Buddha or a follower of Jina.

|| *Vide infra*, p. 348, text and note 1, for a lame apology for this interpolation.

fore, that Professor Wilson should assume, in direct opposition to the authority of the *Purāṇa* which he has, himself, translated, that the term *Ārṇata*, when it occurs, as a proper name, in the *Purāṇas*, should be considered to apply to Jina, and not to Buddha.* But it has been sufficiently proved that Buddha lived in the sixth century B. C.; and no argument, therefore, could be founded upon the mention of his name in the *Purāṇas*, to prove that not one of the works now extant under the name of *Purāṇas* was written prior to the year 900 A. D.; and, on that account, Professor Wilson has too evidently, for the support of his opinion, - transferred the term *Ārṇata* from Buddha (to whom, alone, it is applied, in the *Purāṇas*;) to Jina. Professor Wilson, therefore, has not yet proved that the Jainas are mentioned in the *Purāṇas*.† But the Buddhists are frequently mentioned in those works; and it is, therefore, a strange mode of reasoning, to infer that anything contained in the *Purāṇas* relates to Jina, when it may apply, with so much more probability, to Vishnu's incarnation, Buddha, from whom the Buddhists, according to the *Purāṇas*, originated.

The preceding remarks, and those contained in my former letters, will evince that Professor Wilson's examination of the *Purāṇas* has been much too incomplete, and that the conclusions which he has drawn from it are much too erroneous to authorize him to state so positively: "That Brahmans unknown to fame have remodelled some of the Hindu scriptures, and especially, the *Purāṇas*, cannot reasonably be cor-

* *Vide infra*, p. 362, text and note §.

† This is quite a mistake. See Vol. IV., p. 43, note 1.

tested,"* and that "It is possible¹ . . . that there may have been an earlier class of Purāṇas, of which those we now have are but the partial and adulterated representatives."† This opinion has been maintained by Lieut. Col. Wilford and Mr. Bentley, and, in some measure, countenanced by Mr. Colebrooke; but it still remains unsupported by any proof whatever. Professor Wilson argues thus: In the vocabulary of Amara Siṃha written 56 B.C., it is said that a Purāṇa is "a treatise on five topics," and, in several of the Purāṇas, it is further, explained what these five topics are: but no one of the Purāṇas now extant conforms to that definition: therefore, the present Purāṇas cannot be the works which were current, under that name, in the time of Amara Siṃha. This conclusion is, further supported by his affirming only, but not proving, that the present Purāṇas inculcate the doctrines of sects of known modern origin, and that "circumstances are sometimes mentioned, or alluded to, [in the Purāṇas] or references to authorities are made, or legends are narrated, or places are particularized, of which the comparatively recent date is indisputable."‡

Such is the state of the question. On the first two of these points I have, perhaps, already said more than sufficient; and the only point, therefore, which re-

¹ This "it is possible" is singular; for much of Professor Wilson's reasoning depends on the fact, that the original Purāṇas were current in the time of Amara Siṃha.

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. XVIII., XCIX.

† *Ibid.*, p. VI.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. XI.

mains to be considered is, whether there is any internal evidence, contained in the Purāṇas now extant, which proves that each and all of those works are modern compilations. I cannot place so much reliance on my own examination of the Purāṇas, as to affirm that there is not; but no passages containing such internal evidence have been yet produced; and, were even passages bearing a modern appearance produced, the dates of the circumstances mentioned in them could not be determined. For the Purāṇas contain no dates; and there exists not any biographical, topographical, chronological, or historical work which would afford the means of fixing the date when, in India, a place of pilgrimage first acquired sacredness, when a temple was first erected, when a distinguished character lived, when a king reigned,* or when an ancient sect, philosophical or religious, was founded, or when it became extinct. All the circumstances and events mentioned in the Purāṇas, from which an inference with respect to their date might be drawn, are of precisely the same kind as the temples in Orissa, from the mention of which, in the *Brahma Purāṇa*, Professor Wilson infers the modern date of that work; for it is not only necessary to prove that those temples were built in modern times, but it must be, further, proved that, previous to their erection, no temples ever existed, in India, of the same names, and in the same situations. In the quotation, also, from the *Kūrma Purāṇa*, contained in my second letter,† is mentioned a *Vāma Śāstra*; and there is, at this day, a sect

* *Vide supra*, p. 313, note •.

† *Vide supra*, pp. 286, 287.

named Vāma Yamáchárin; but, as the Purāṇa gives no description of the *Vāma Sástra*, on what grounds can it be reasonably supposed that this is, actually, the same as the *Tantras* of the *left-handed* sect of the Śáktas? In all such cases, it is evident that coincidence merely in name is no proof that the name must necessarily apply to the modern temple or sect; and, consequently, its applicability must be proved, before a mere name can be admitted as any proof that the Purāṇas are modern compilations. It is equally evident that, as the Purāṇas contain no dates, and as there are no books to refer to for an illustration of their contents, so far is the recent date of any particular circumstance mentioned in them from being indisputable, that, on the contrary, every adaptation of an occurrence or event, mentioned in the Purāṇas, to a date must depend solely and entirely on conjecture. No circumstances, therefore, are mentioned in the Purāṇas, the precise or even approximate date of which can be indisputably fixed, or even fixed at all: and it must, hence, follow that those works do not contain any internal evidence which proves their recent composition.*

Professor Wilson's supposition, however, that the Purāṇas have been remodelled by the Brahmans, rests entirely on the further supposition, that circumstances are mentioned, in those works, of which the comparatively recent date is indisputable. But I have examined in vain the remarks contained in the Preface to the Translation of the *Vishnú Purāṇa*, in order to ascertain

* That the Purāṇas are not ancient is evident from their very Sanskrit. How, too, as regards their prophetic parts?

what the precise opinion is which Professor Wilson means to express with respect to the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant. He maintains that the whole of the *Bhāgavata* was written by Bopadeva; that the compilation of the *Vāmana* "may have amused the leisure of some Brahman of Benares"; that the *Agni* and *Brahma Vaivarta* have no claims to be regarded as Purāṇas; and that the *Linga* "is more a ritual than a Purāṇa";* and he, thus, gives approximate dates to nine of the Purāṇas, the dates of the other nine being nearer to, or remoter from, the earliest date mentioned:

<i>Mārkaṇḍeya</i> . . .	9th or 10th century.	
<i>Linga</i>	9th or 10th	•
<i>Vishṇu</i>	11th or 12th	"
<i>Padma</i> ¹	12th — 16th	"
<i>Varāha</i>	12th	"
<i>Bhāgavata</i>	12th	"
<i>Brahma</i>	13th or 14th	"
<i>Vāmana</i>	14th or 15th	"
<i>Nāradiya</i>	16th or 17th†	"

But, although Professor Wilson thus expressly ascribes the original composition of two of the Purāṇas to two individuals, and seems to intimate that several of the other Purāṇas were composed in the same manner, he

¹ Professor Wilson remarks that the different portions of this Purāṇa "are, in all probability, as many different works"; and the above dates, therefore, apply to different portions of the whole work.

* Vol. I., Preface, pp. L., LXXVI., LX., LXXVII., LXIX.

† *Ibid.*, pp. LVIII., LXX., CXI., XXXIV., LXXI., LI., XXIX., LXXVI. III.

yet seems to suppose that the groundwork of the present Purāṇas was the eighteen ancient Purāṇas; for he speaks of "the strong internal evidence, which all of them afford, of the intermixture of unauthorized and comparatively modern ingredients."* He even remarks that "the identity of the legends in many of them [the Purāṇas], and, still more, the identity of the words,—for, in several of them, long passages are, literally, the same,†—is a sufficient proof that . . . they must be copied either from some other similar work, or from a common and prior original."‡ To argue against such inconsistencies and contradictions is quite out of the question; but it is evident that, if the composition and compilation of the present Purāṇas by eighteen different persons occupied eight centuries, those works could not also have been remodelled by the Brahmans, for sectarian purposes; and that, if their groundwork was the ancient Purāṇas, not one of them could be the original composition of a modern writer; and that, if such was not their groundwork, it is utterly incredible that eighteen different persons, living at long intervals of time from each other, and while the Muhammadans were extending their dominions over the greatest part of India, should produce eighteen works in which the legends are identical, and long passages are, literally, the same. The supposition, also, that an aggregate of 1,600,000 lines, spread over an extent of a million of square miles, should have been remodelled, whether by the Brahmans or any

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

† This is, I believe, greatly an overstatement. It is a rare thing, at least in my experience, to find even a single couplet precisely the same in any two Purāṇas. See Vol. I., p. 57, note *. ‡ Vol. I., Preface, p. VI.

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other persons, on one uniform plan, seems to be an absolute impossibility; and the motive assigned for such remodelling,—sectarial imposture,—is at once disproved by the simple facts, that not one of the Purāṇas inculcates sectarian doctrines, and that the *exclusive* worshippers of Viṣṇu, or of Śiva, or of any other deity, have always formed, in India, but a small portion of the whole population.

There is, however, a difficulty which embarrasses the decision of this question: for, not only in several of the Purāṇas are the names of all the eighteen specified, but, in most of them, the narrator is requested to repeat the Purāṇa about to be related, expressly by name. Professor Wilson, therefore, correctly remarks that “the identity of the legends in many of them [the Purāṇas], and, still more, the identity of the words,—for, in several of them, long passages are, literally, the same, —is a sufficient proof that, in all such cases, they must be copied either from some other similar work, or from a common and prior original.” The internal evidence, however, of the Purāṇas fully proves that they have not been copied from each other: and this identity, therefore, must have been derived from one common original. But there is nothing improbable in supposing that, previous to the Purāṇas being committed to writing in their present state, *four or five centuries prior to the Christian era*, numerous legends and traditions relating to the modes of worship and the doctrines of the Hindu religion had, in remote times, been formed, preserved, and transmitted by oral communication only.¹ When, therefore, eighteen different per-

¹ Such is the manner in which instruction is communicated

sons, in different parts of India, collected together those legends and traditions, and committed them to writing, the greatest similarity would, necessarily, exist in the eighteen works, and the same legend and tradition would often be selected for insertion, and, consequently, often expressed in the same, or nearly the same, words. The existence, therefore, of "a common and prior original", so far from being an argument against the genuineness and antiquity of the present Purāṇas, should, on the contrary, be considered as a decisive proof that those works are, essentially, in the same state as that in which they were first committed to writing. Because, in their present state, each of the Purāṇas "is a collection of legends, traditions, and rituals, and not a work systematically written; and it must, hence, be evident that such collections could have been made only at a time when such traditionary lore was fresh in the memory of the Brahmans. The present state, therefore, of the Purāṇas now extant, in which the most important legends, and even the origin of the deities, are related in a discordant manner, though not in such a manner as in the least affects the perfect homogeneity of the Hindu religion,—is, alone, a strong proof that those works have undergone no

amongst the Brahmans, even at this day; and it is an immemorial tradition, that the Purāṇas were thus transmitted. In the *Vishnū Purāṇa*, for instance, Parāśara thus replies to Maitreya: "Now truly all that was told me formerly by Vasishṭha, and by the wise Pulastya" "I will relate to you the whole, even all you have asked." *

* Vol. I., p. 11.

alteration since they were first committed to writing; for, as those discordancies have been allowed to remain, it is most probable that religious scruples have prevented the Brahmans from subsequently giving uniformity to their religious system.

But, to the supposition, that the present Purāṇas are modern compilations, written between the eighth and seventeenth centuries, the existence of "a common and prior original" becomes an insuperable objection: for it is highly improbable that such legends and traditions as are contained in the Purāṇas were then current: and, even admitting that they were, it is quite incredible that, in the disturbed state of India, and decay of Sanskrit learning, during that period, eighteen different persons should produce eighteen works in which not only the legends are identical, but long passages literally the same. It may, however, be said that the eighteen ancient Purāṇas were then extant, or, at least, that fragments of them were still preserved. I shall not here repeat what I have already said respecting the incredibility of the suppositions that the Brahmans have suppressed the ancient Purāṇas, and substituted, in their place, the works now bearing that name, or that the Brahmans of all India have received, in the place of the ancient Purāṇas, the acknowledged works of eighteen obscure individuals. On this point, also, it is impossible to ascertain what the opinion of Professor Wilson is: for, in one part of that Preface, he appears to admit, distinctly, that each of the ancient Purāṇas was extant until it was superseded by the present Purāṇa: but, in other parts, he has argued at length, to prove that the present Purā

ñas cannot be the same works which were current in the time of Amara Siṁha. Since, therefore, Professor Wilson has, thus, adopted two contradictory suppositions, in order to account for what he supposes to be the spuriousness of the present Purāṇas, it must be evident that he has completely failed in proving that the present Purāṇas are not genuine. But the levity and irreflection with which Professor Wilson has decided against the genuineness and antiquity of those works will be best judged of from these remarks: "No weight can be attached to the specification of the eighteen names: for they are, always, complete: each Purāṇa enumerates all. Which is the last? Which had the opportunity of naming its seventeen predecessors, and adding itself? The argument proves too much. There can be little doubt that the list has been inserted, upon the authority of tradition, either by some improving transcriber, or by the compiler of a work more recent than the eighteen genuine Purāṇas."¹ * Professor Wilson extends the compilation of the present

Professor Wilson observes that the objection to the modern composition of the *Śrī Bhāgarata* is rebutted by there being another Purāṇa to which the name applies,—the *Devī Bhāgarata*. But all his remarks on this point are entirely misplaced and unnecessary; because the mere perusal of the *Devī Bhāgarata* † will at once show that it is, decidedly and avowedly, a Tāntrika work: for, in the 26th chapter of the 3rd *skandha*, is contained a description of the *Kumāri-pūjā*, or worship of the virgin. I possess a copy of this work, in twelve *skandhas*, which appears to be complete.

What, also, does Professor Wilson here mean by *genuine* Purāṇas? He denies that the Purāṇas current in the time of Amara

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XLV.

† *Ibid.*, p. LXXXVIII., note †.

Purāṇas over eight centuries; and, therefore, in order to get rid of the objection to this supposition, which results from each Purāṇa containing the names of all the eighteen, he thinks it quite sufficient to observe that this specification has been inserted by some improving transcriber, he must mean, of course, after the last of the present Purāṇas was written, that is, after the seventeenth century. Thus, supposition is supported by supposition; and, thus, all Professor Wilson's reasoning, to prove that the present Purāṇas are modern compilations, depends entirely on gratuitous assumptions and groundless assertions.

Whether, however, complete works, bearing the same names, existed previous to the present Purāṇas being committed to writing, is a question which admits not of decision. That the names of all the eighteen Purāṇas were previously known seems unquestionable,* and it would, therefore, appear most probable that these names had belonged to works which had preceded the present Purāṇas. But the internal evidence of the present Purāṇas proves that they are, rather, collections of legends, traditions, and rituals, than works systematically written; for they are entirely deficient in arrangement, and the subjects treated of in them have

Śiṃha are now extant; but he has not attempted to explain how long it was that they continued current after that time, nor the time and manner in which they subsequently became extinct; and yet, in discussing a point relating to the present Purāṇas, he seems to speak of them as if they were the genuine Purāṇas. To elicit, therefore, either meaning or consistency out of such remarks is, evidently, quite impossible.

* What proof is there of this assertion?

no further connexion with each other than that they all contribute to inculcate and illustrate some of the tenets and doctrines of the Hindu religion. It is possible, however, that more ancient Purāṇas may have existed, which, from various circumstances during their transmission by oral communication only, were no longer in a complete state, when the present Purāṇas were committed to writing; and that such fragments of them as were at that time preserved have been incorporated in the present Purāṇas, to which, also, the names of the ancient works have been given. But the decision of this question is of no importance; because it is proved that works bearing the names of the Purāṇas were current in India in the century prior to the Christian era;* and there is not the slightest reason for supposing that those works have not been preserved until the present day, in the same manner as other Sanskrit manuscripts of the same period have been preserved. From the notices, also, which occur in Greek writers, it appears highly probable that the very same system of religion which is described in the Purāṇas prevailed in India at the time of Alexander's invasion; and it may, therefore, be justly concluded that the Purāṇas had received their present form† four or five centuries prior to the Christian era. Even Professor Wilson remarks: "But the same internal testimony furnishes proof, equally decisive, of the anterior existence of ancient materials; and it is, therefore, as idle as it is irrational, to dispute the antiquity or authenticity of the greater portion of the contents of the Purāṇas, in the face of abundant posi-

* This has never been proved. † As to their predictions and all?

c tive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence of the doctrines which they teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era."* But it must be evident that these remarks are totally irreconcilable with what Professor Wilson elsewhere observes: "At the same time, they [the Purāṇas,] may be acquitted of subservience to any but sectarial imposture. They were pious frauds for temporary purposes."†

It, hence, clearly appears that, in contending for the modern compilation of the present Purāṇas, Professor Wilson was influenced by a preconceived opinion, the erroneousness of which he would not admit: but that, in thus forcibly maintaining the antiquity of the greater portion of the contents of those works, he was irresistibly compelled to yield to the convincing proof, which their internal evidence presents, of the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant. I have, also, sufficiently shown, in these letters, that the present Purāṇas do neither inculcate sectarian doctrines nor indicate, in any manner, that they are an intermixture of ancient and modern ingredients: but that, on the contrary, they exhibit, throughout an aggregate of 1,600,000 lines, the utmost uniformity in the general description of legends, traditions, modes of worship, and doctrines.: It must, consequently, be most reasonable to conclude that the Purāṇas now extant received their present form four or five centuries prior to the Christian era, and that, since then,

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

† *Ibid.*, p. XI.

: One is at a loss to see where all this has been shown.

they have undergone no alteration whatever; rather than that they are works which, for the purpose of sectarial imposture, either have been remodelled by the Brahmaus since the Christian era, or which have been written by eighteen obscure individuals, between the eighth and seventeenth centuries.

Bombay, 30th October, 1840.

VANS KENNEDY.

SIR: As the eighteen Purānas are, undoubtedly, the only source from which a knowledge of the mythology and popular religion of the Hindus can be derived, it becomes of importance to determine whether those works are ancient compositions, or mere modern compilations; and I trust, in consequence, that you will have no objection to my offering a few further remarks on this subject, previous to closing its discussion. In my last letter, however, I observed that the Purānas contain no dates, and that there is no biographical, topographical, geographical, or historical work which would afford the means of fixing the date when, in India, a place of pilgrimage first acquired sacredness, when a temple was first erected, when a king or distinguished personage lived,* or when a philosophical or religious sect was founded, or when it became extinct. It would, hence, seem that, as the date of the circumstances mentioned in the Purānas cannot be determined, the question whether they are ancient or

* *Vide supra*, p. 313, note •.

modern cannot be decided; as all opinions respecting the period when they may have been written must depend, principally, if not entirely, on conjecture. But the internal evidence of those works affords the strongest proof that they cannot be modern compilations; for the legends, and descriptions of scenery, and of men and manners, contained in them, bear such an unquestionable impression of antiquity, and such a dissimilarity to all that is known of India since the era of Vikramāditya (B.C. 56),* that they irresistibly lead to the conclusion that the Purāṇas must have been written at some remote period. When, therefore, the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford published his opinion, that the works now bearing that name were compiled between the eighth and seventeenth centuries, it might have been expected that he would have supported so startling a statement by the clearest and most conclusive arguments and authorities. But he has, on the contrary,—as I have, perhaps sufficiently shown,—formed that opinion from an imperfect examination of the Purāṇas, and maintained it solely by having recourse to gratuitous assumptions and groundless assertions.

The whole, indeed, of the remarks contained in the Preface to the Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa* appear to have been written for the purpose of demonstrating that, “of the present popular forms of the Hindu religion, none assumed their actual state earlier than the time of Śankara Āchārya, the great Śaiva

* In p. 312, *supra*, Colonel Kennedy pronounces that “The history of India during the centuries immediately preceding and following the Christian era is almost unknown.” Also see p. 293, *supra*.

reformer, who, flourished, in all likelihood, in the eighth or ninth century. Of the Vaishnava teachers, Rāmānuja dates in the twelfth century; Madhwāchārya, in the thirteenth; and Vallabha, in the sixteenth; and the Purānas seem to have accompanied, or followed, their innovations; being obviously intended to advocate the doctrines they taught.* A still more erroneous opinion was published by Professor Wilson, twelve years before, in his "Sketch of the Religious Sects of the Hindus," in which he has observed: "To the internal incongruities of the system, which did not affect its integral existence, others were, in time, superadded, that threatened to dissolve or destroy the whole. Of this nature was the exclusive adoration of the old deities, or of new forms of them; and even, it may be presumed, the introduction of new divinities. In all these respects, the Purānas and Tantras were especially instrumental; and they not only taught their followers to assert the unapproachable superiority of the gods they worshipped, but inspired them with feelings of animosity towards those who presumed to dispute that supremacy. In this conflict, the worship of Brahmā has disappeared, as well as, indeed, that of the whole pantheon, except Vishnu, Śiva, and Śakti, or their modifications. With respect to the two former, in fact, the representatives have borne away the palm from the prototypes; and Kṛishna, Rāma, or the Linga, are almost the only forms under which Vishnu and Śiva are now adored in most parts of † India." ‡ In

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XVI.

† Colonel Kennedy here omitted the very important words "most parts of"

‡ Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., pp. 3—5.

this Sketch, however, Professor Wilson at the same time observes that "the worshippers of Vishnu, Śiva, and Śakti, who are the objects of the following description, are not to be confounded with the orthodox adorers of those divinities."* And yet he also states that *the present state of the Hindu faith is of, comparatively, very recent origin.*[†]

It would, hence, appear that Professor Wilson has formed his opinion of the Hindu religion from the *exception*, and not from the *rule*, and that he has given an importance to the sects that have originated amongst upwards of a hundred and thirty millions of people, to which they are not entitled. For it would, no doubt, be considered as a strange mode of judging of the established religion of England, were an opinion to be formed of it from the sects which prevail there: but such seems to have been the manner in which Professor Wilson has contemplated the Hindu religion; and it is too evident that it is in support of this erroneous view of the subject that he has ascribed to the Purāṇas a modern origin, and contents which they do not contain. But I am certain that not a single Purāṇa inculcates the *exclusive* worship of a particular deity, and that not a passage which is genuine can be found, in any Purāṇa, which would inspire the followers of

[†] This Sketch is contained in Vols. XVI. and XVII. of the *Asiatic Researches*. I refer, throughout this letter, to the part contained in Vol. XVI.

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. 4., p. 30. † *Ibid.*, p. 12.

‡ In p. 347, *infra*, Colonel Kennedy asserts, however, that "there are no means of distinguishing those parts of them [the Purāṇas,] which

one deity with feelings of animosity towards those who presumed to dispute its supremacy.¹ So far, indeed, is this from being the case, that every sect—as Professor Wilson himself admits,—has found it necessary to compose works for the purpose of teaching and supporting its peculiar tenets; which circumstance, alone, is sufficient to prove that the Purāṇas were not adapted for the promotion of such an object, and, consequently, that those works could not have been written in subservience to sectarial imposture, as Professor Wilson supposes.

It is also undeniable that the great mass of the Hindus are Smārtas, though all who are so do not adopt this name;² that is, they consider both Vishnū

¹ In the Sketch referred to, Professor Wilson has quoted several Sanskrit authorities, which, if genuine, would disprove this statement: but he has specified neither the book nor the chapter of the Purāṇas from which they are said to be taken; and it would appear that he had not, himself, verified them. Not being able, therefore, to ascertain this point, I must consider these quotations to be spurious; for they are at complete variance with numerous passages that occur in the Purāṇas, which expressly inculcate that Vishnū and Śiva ought, both, to be worshipped.

² The Brahmans of the Deccan, for instance, and of Gujerat, call themselves Śaivas; but they are, in reality, Smārtas, as they do not reject the worship of Vishnū, though they consider it of less importance than that of Śiva. The same is the case with many of the Brahmans in other parts of India, who call themselves Vaishṇavas, but consider Śiva as entitled to adoration. This, however, is in strict conformity to the Purāṇas, in which

are thought to be ancient and genuine from those which are thought to be modern and spurious."

* Most venturesomely.

and Śiva to be entitled to adoration, but some of them identify either Viṣṇu or Śiva with the Supreme Being, — an opinion which is clearly inculcated in several of the Purāṇas. But, though, in some of those works, Viṣṇu is represented to be, in some degree, inferior to Śiva, still the latter is frequently introduced, in the Śaiva Purāṇas, as enjoining the necessity of worshipping Viṣṇu, and explaining the mysterious nature of his incarnations; and, in the same manner, though, in the Vaiṣṇava Purāṇas, the supremacy is ascribed to Viṣṇu, still the fullest justice is done to the divinity of Śiva. The *exclusive* votary of Viṣṇu, on the contrary, refuses all adoration to Śiva; and, in the same manner, the *exclusive* votary of Śiva denies Viṣṇu to be a proper object of worship; and such votaries, therefore, of these deities are, with reference to the population, by no means numerous in India. It is equally unquestionable that the substitution of the Linga for the image of Śiva occasioned no alteration in the worship of that god; for, in the ritual prescribed for the worship of the Linga, as contained in the *Linga Purāṇa*, it is said: "Having bathed in the prescribed manner, enter the place of worship; and, having performed three suppressions of the breath, meditate on that god (Śiva,) who has three eyes, five heads, ten arms, and is of the colour of pure crystal, arrayed in costly garments, and adorned with all kinds of ornaments. Thus, having fixed in thy mind the real form of Maheśwara, proceed to worship him with the proper hymns and prayers." The Linga, therefore, is the terms Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva denote the *preferential*, but not the *exclusive*, worshipper of either Viṣṇu or Śiva.

worshipped by all Śaivas and Smārtas; for it is, in fact, the only type under which Śiva has been adored from remote times. The worship, also, of Rāma is scarcely known in India;* and Professor Wilson is, certainly, incorrect in stating that the worship of Bāla Gopāla, the infant Kṛishṇa, is very widely diffused amongst all ranks of Indian society; for the votaries of Kṛishṇa are by no means numerous, and are to be found only in Bengal,¹ and in some parts of Hindostan proper.

Much of the reasoning, however, adduced in the Preface to the Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāna*, to prove the modern compilation of the Purānas, is founded on the supposition that the date of the Purānas in which Kṛishṇa is mentioned—particularly the *Brahma Vairarta*,—must be subsequent to the establishment of the sect of “the worshippers of the juvenile Kṛishṇa and Rādhā, a form of belief of known modern origin.”† But, in that Preface, Professor Wilson gives it, as his opinion, that the Mahābhārata “is, evidently, the great fountain from which most, if not all, of the Purānas have drawn:”; and, in the Sketch above referred to, § he remarks: “The worship of Kṛishṇa, as one with Vishṇu and the universe, dates,

¹ Mr. Ward remarks: “Six parts out of ten of the whole Hindu population of Bengal are supposed to be disciples of this god. The far greater part of these, however, are of the lower orders; and but few of them Brahmans.” Vol. I., p. 200.

* If Colonel Kennedy’s information had been coextensive with anything approaching the whole of India, he would never have hazarded this remark.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. LXVI.

‡ *Ibid.*, p. XCII.

§ Professor Wilson’s collected Works, Vol. I., p. 121.

evidently, from the *Mahābhārata*." According to this statement, therefore, it is evident that, as the worship of Kṛishṇa dates from that poem, and as its composition preceded that of the *Purāṇas*, the date of none of those works can in the least depend on the time when the sects of Vallabha and Chaitanya originated.—unless, indeed, Professor Wilson supposes that the *Mahābhārata* was not written until after the year 1520, A. D. In that Sketch, also, Professor Wilson has observed: "The worship of Kṛishṇa, as one with Viṣṇu and the universe, dates, evidently, from the *Mahābhārata*: and his more juvenile forms [actions?] are brought pre-eminently to notice in the account of his infancy contained in the *Bhāgavata*: but neither of these works discriminates him from Viṣṇu: nor do they recommend his infantine and adolescent state to particular veneration." And, further: "In this description of creation, however, the deity [Kṛishṇa,] is still spoken of as a young man: and the *Purāṇa* [the *Brahma Vaivarta*], therefore, affords only indirect authority, in the marvels it narrates of his infancy, for the worship of the child."* These remarks are quite correct, as far as relates to the veneration of Kṛishṇa; for I have shown, in my former letters, that in not one of the *Purāṇas* is the worship of Kṛishṇa, either as a child or a young man, inculcated, or even indicated. It is, hence, evident that, although the accounts of Kṛishṇa's boyhood, which are contained in several of the *Purāṇas*, may have suggested to Vallabha and Chaitanya the design of establishing the worship of Kṛishṇa, still those *Purāṇas* could not have been written

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., p. 121 and p. 124.

for the purpose of promoting a form of belief which is not even mentioned in them.

Professor Wilson, at the same time, extends the prevalence of this worship, by identifying the infant Kṛishṇa with "the juvenile master of the universe, Jagannātha";* and yet he fixes the date when the temple of Jagannātha was erected, in A. D. 1198,† and that when Vallabha lived, in about A. D. 1520.: The worship, therefore, of Jagannātha cannot be the same as that of Kṛishṇa established by Vallabha; and, in fact, there is not the slightest resemblance between them: because Jagannātha is worshipped as an incarnate form, or, rather, as a type, of Vishṇu, by all Hindus; and, on the contrary, the worship of Kṛishṇa is not generally practised, and prevails only in particular parts of India. The legend, also, relating to Jagannātha has no further reference to Kṛishṇa than the name; for it is said, in it, that the temple of Purushottama was erected by a king named Indradyumna, a fervent votary of Vishṇu, who being much distressed for the want of a proper image to place in it, Vishṇu appeared to him, in a dream, and informed him that, the next morning, he would find, in the sea, a sacred tree from which the image was to be made. In the *Brahma Purāṇa*, it is, further, said that, when the king had, accordingly, found the tree, and brought it on shore, Vishṇu and Viśwakarma (the artificer of the gods) appeared to him, and that Vishṇu directed the latter to form from the tree the images of Kṛishṇa, his brother Balabhadra, and sister Subadhra, which command

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XXII.

† *Vide supra*, p. 312.

‡ Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. III., p. 120.

Viśwakarma immediately executed. Although, therefore, the images worshipped at Jagannátha bear these names, the adoration is, in reality, addressed to Vishnú, as the lord of the universe; and, consequently, in the ritual prescribed for it, there is no mention whatever of “the infant Kṛishná, Govinda, Bála Gopála, the sojourner in Vṛindávana, the companion of the cowherds and milkmaids, the lover of Rádhá.”*

Professor Wilson also seems not to have taken into consideration that the ten *avatáras* of Vishnú are an essential part of the Hindu religion: as it appears to be sufficiently ascertained that they are alluded to in the Vedas,† and it is certain that the son of Devakí, or Kṛishná, is mentioned in at least two of the Upanishads—the *Chhándogya* and *Náráyana*. The veneration, therefore, of Kṛishná, as an incarnate form of Vishnú, which is all that is prescribed in the Puráṇas, must be of as remote a date as the most ancient known state of the Hindu religion; and the mention, consequently, of Kṛishná, in any of the Puráṇas, as an *avatára* of Vishnú, but not as a peculiar object of worship,—in which character he is never described in those works,§—can afford no grounds for supposing that the present Puráṇas are modern and sectarian compilations. Before, therefore, Professor Wilson identified that veneration with the worship of Kṛishná established by Vallabha and Chaitanya, and hence inferred the

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XXII.

† The knowledge of this allusion seems to be the peculiar property of Colonel Kennedy.

‡ That is to say, as old as the *mantras* of the *Rigveda*!

§ For disproof of this assertion, see Book V of this Work, *passim*.

comparatively recent date of the Purāṇas, as now extant, he should have produced, from those works, some passages which either expressly or virtually inculcate that worship; but he himself acknowledges, as I have before observed, that no such passages exist, and thus admits that this objection to the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas rests, solely and entirely, on inferences drawn from suppositions imagined by himself, but which are supported by neither probability nor by any authority whatever.

It is, hence, evident that, in presenting the sects which exist in India as a correct representation of the actual condition of the Hindu religion, and in maintaining that the present state of the Hindu faith "is of comparatively, very recent origin,"* Professor Wilson has taken a most erroneous view of the subject. For the great mass of the Hindus adhere to that religious system which has prevailed in India from the remotest times, and which, alone, is inculcated in the eighteen Purāṇas. Even Professor Wilson himself has observed that "the origin and development of their doctrines, traditions, and institutions [of which that system is composed,] were not, the work of a day: and the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity carries it back to a much more remote antiquity, to an antiquity that is, probably, not surpassed by any of the prevailing fictions, institutions, or beliefs of the ancient world."† As, however, it is only from the Purāṇas that a complete knowledge of those traditions and doctrines can be

* Professor Wilson's collected Works, Vol. I., p. 12.

† Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

derived, it is obvious that there are either no grounds for ascribing to them a remote antiquity, or that it must be admitted that the Purāṇas are ancient compositions, and not modern compilations written by eighteen obscure individuals between the eighth and seventeenth centuries: because there are no other works with which the legends, and descriptions of scenery, men, and manners, and of rites, ceremonies, and modes of worship, contained in the Purāṇas, might be compared, in order to ascertain whether they are of ancient or of modern date. And the supposing, consequently, with Professor Wilson, that the Purāṇas are an intermixture of ancient and modern ingredients, can be of no avail; for there are no means of distinguishing those parts of them which are thought to be ancient and genuine from those which are thought to be modern and spurious. But the internal evidence of the Purāṇas proves that those works did not accompany, or follow, the innovations introduced into the Hindu religion by Śankara Āchārya, Rāmānuja, Madhwāchārya, and Vallabha: and that they are not intended to advocate the doctrines taught by those sectaries. For not one of their sects is mentioned, or alluded to, in the Purāṇas, in which works the only deities who are represented to be objects of worship are Vishṇu, Śiva, Devī, Gaṇeśa, and Sūrya; and the worshippers of these deities are, indisputably, held to be the five orthodox divisions of the Hindus. Professor Wilson's supposition, therefore, that the Purāṇas were written in subservience to sectarial imposture, being, thus, disproved, it follows that the whole of his reasoning, to prove their modern date, founded on their

"exhibiting a sectarial fervour and exclusiveness," is totally futile and fallacious.

The Purāṇas, consequently, do not contain—as Professor Wilson states,—the doctrines of sects of known modern origin; as, besides the sects just referred to, he only particularizes, in the Preface to the Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, the Śāktas and Jainas as being mentioned in the Purāṇas. But, in my former letters, I have sufficiently shown that the tenets and practices of the Śāktas are so completely at variance with every principle of the Hindu religion, that it is impossible that they could be noticed in books which the Hindus hold to be sacred. I also pointed out, in my last letter,† that the term *Ārṇata* did not—as Professor Wilson assumed,—indicate either Jina or the Jainas; but I stated, erroneously, that it applied, in the passage which I quoted, to Buddha.¹ On subsequently comparing, however, the eighteenth chapter of Book III. of the Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* with the original, I found that the one did not agree with the other: for the terms "Bauddhas" and "Jainas", which are introduced into the Translation and the notes to it, *do not occur in the origi-*

¹ This mistake was occasioned by my trusting to the Translation, in which it is said: "These Daityas were induced, by the Arch-deceiver, to deviate from their religious duties (and become Bauddhas)."

* Vol. I., Preface, p. V.

† *Vide supra*, pp. 322, 323.

‡ The whole truth is, that the Colonel not only criticized Professor Wilson's rendering without reference to the original, but that he interpolated it without acknowledgement, in foisting in the word "Buddha", so distinguished, typographically, that it seems to be quoted. The excuse offered in note 1, above, is very feeble.

nal. It is, therefore, singular that Professor Wilson should have made such a translation as this: "The delusions of the false teacher paused not with the conversion of the Daityas to the Jaina and Bauddha heresies;"* and that he should have remarked, in a note: "We have, therefore, the Bauddhas noticed as a distinct sect:" because the original is, simply: "O Maitreya, after Mâyámoha, the great deceiver, had deluded the Daityas by various heretical doctrines, they relinquished the excellent faith inculcated by the Veda and Smṛiti."† It even appears, from the whole of this legend, that it does not apply to Vishṇu's appearance as Buddha, but to some other occurrence, which is not mentioned in any other Purāṇa than the *Vishṇu*;‡ for it thus commences, according to the translation: "There was, formerly, a battle between the gods and demons, for the period of a divine year, in which the gods were defeated by the demons under the command of Hrāda." But the only dissemination of heretical doctrines, through the instrumentality of Vishṇu, which is mentioned in any other Purāṇa, is that in the city of the Tripura Asuras and that in Kāśī: to neither of which his legend applies: as it is said, in it, that Mâyámoha, the name of the illusory being emitted from Vishṇu's body, "having proceeded (to earth), beheld the Daityas."

मित्रेय तत्त्वजुर्धर्मं वेदस्मृत्युद्धृतं परम् ॥
 अन्यान्यन्यपाखण्डप्रकारवैजृम्भिर्विज ।
 देतेयान्मोहयोमास मायामोहोऽतिमोहकृतं ॥

* Vol. III., p. 211. Colonel Kennedy quotes only a portion of the sentence corresponding to his own translation given just below.

† For refutation of this, *vide infra*, p. 378, note †.

‡ Vol. III., p. 201.

engaged in ascetic penances, upon the banks of the Narmadā river.”* Professor Wilson, therefore, has given to this chapter an interpretation not authorized by the original, in which nothing occurs which indicates that the composer of this Purāṇa intended to describe either Buddha or Jina, under this illusory form, or to adopt, or allude to, their doctrines, in the words spoken by it.†

I have adverted to this remarkable deviation from the faithful manner in which translations should always be made; because the purport of this legend clearly shows that the terms “Jainas” and “Bauddhas” cannot be contained in any manuscript of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*. But Professor Wilson may have supposed that the term *Ārhatas* denoted the Jainas, and may have understood, from the words *budhyadhvam* and *budhyate*,‡ that they applied to the Buddhists: and to this there could be no objection, had he expressed his opinion in a note, and not introduced into the text, the title of the chapter, and the index, the term “Jainas” and “Bauddhas”. As, also, the illusory form addressed

* Vol. III., p. 207.

† On the contrary, it is beyond doubt that both Jina and Buddha, by implication, are represented as forms of Māyamoha. First, in the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, we have mention of the establishment of the Ārhatas by this “Deceiver by illusion”, who then metamorphoses himself, and establishes a sect by which the Bauddha is, unmistakably, intended. The Ārhatas must be either Jainas or Bauddhas; and the Chapter referred to shows that they were, unquestionably, the former. But I have anticipated Professor Wilson’s Reply.

‡ The Colonel, practically, was scarcely so austere punctilious as his principles. *Vide supra*, p. 348, note †.

§ On the gross error here accepted, *vide infra*, p. 362, note †, and p. 377, note †.

only the same Daityas,* it is evident that he could not have induced them to adopt the doctrines of both Jina and Buddha; and Professor Wilson, therefore, should have selected either the one or the other as being the false teacher here intended. But it is undeniable that Jina or the Jainas are not mentioned, in the Purāṇas, under these names:† and there is no reason, as I have before shown, for supposing that they are denoted by the term *Ārhatas*:‡ as no conclusion can be justly drawn from an isolated word which occurs in the Purāṇas, unaccompanied by any explanation of its intent and meaning. It will, hence, appear that this legend cannot apply to the Jainas: nor can it apply to Buddha: for he, according to the Vaishṇava Purāṇas, was not an illusory form emitted from the body of Viṣṇu, but an actual incarnation of Viṣṇu,§ born in Kikāṭa. When, therefore, Professor Wilson has so misunderstood and misinterpreted a passage in a Purāṇa which he has himself translated, it must be evident that no reliance can be placed on the correctness of the opinions which he expresses with respect to the age, and the scope and tendency, of the eighteen Purāṇas. He has, however, intimated that he intends laying before the Royal Asiatic Society analyses of all the Purāṇas, similar to the one of the *Brahma Purāṇa*, published in No. IX. of the *Journal* of that Society. But it is obvious that

* Not those already perverted, but "others of the same family". See Vol. III., p. 210.

† For Pauṇāṇik mention of the *Jina-dharma*, or "religion of Jina", see Vol. IV., p. 43, note 1.

‡ Who are the *Ārhatas*, then?

§ But why assume that the Purāṇas may not contradict each other?

Vide supra, p. 178, notes 1 and ¶.

such mere details of the contents of each Purāṇa can afford no information respecting the variety of subjects treated of in those works; and it is certain that, if these details are accompanied with such comments as have been already published by Professor Wilson, the analyses will convey the most erroneous notions of what is actually contained in the Purāṇas. For Professor Wilson supposes that the Purāṇas exhibit "a sectarial fervour and exclusiveness"; that they contain the doctrines, or allusions to the doctrines, of philosophical and religious sects of known modern origin; and that, in them, circumstances are mentioned, or alluded to, or legends are narrated, or places are particularized, of which the comparatively recent date is indisputable. But no one of these suppositions—as I have evinced, in the course of these letters,—rests on any grounds whatever; and nothing contained in the Purāṇas in any manner justifies Professor Wilson's opinion, that those works are pious frauds, written for temporary purposes, and in subservience to sectarial imposture. As, however, he not only entertains such an opinion, but even supposes that the Purāṇas were compiled by eighteen obscure individuals, between the eighth and seventeenth centuries, it will be evident that no analyses which Professor Wilson may give of those works will convey a correct, complete, and impartial account of the traditions, doctrines, and modes of worship which are described in the eighteen Purāṇas.

In the remarks, therefore, contained in these letters, my object has been to evince that Professor Wilson has taken a most erroneous view of the remote and

actual state of the Hindu religion, and that his preconceived opinions on this subject have led him to assign a modern origin to the Purāṇas, and to support this statement, by ascribing to them sectarian doctrines which they, certainly, do not contain; and that all his reasoning to prove the modern compilation of those works is futile, contradictory, unfounded, or improbable. In this I have, perhaps, succeeded; for, as Professor Wilson has not quoted any passages from the Purāṇas, in which sectarian fervour and exclusiveness are exhibited,* and in which circumstances of comparatively recent date are mentioned.† it may be concluded that he knew of no such passages: as their production would, at once, have proved the point which he wished to establish. This negative argument acquires the greater force from Professor Wilson having stated that he has collected a voluminous series of indices, abstracts, and translations of all the Purāṇas; and, consequently, if any passages occur, in them, which inculcate the *exclusive* worship of Viṣṇu or Śiva, or the worship of Rāma, Kṛishṇa, or Śakti, or which mention the Jainas,‡ or any modern sect, or any comparatively recent event, he could have had no difficulty in producing such passages, in support of his statements; and their non-production, therefore, must be considered as strong proof of their non-existence. The supposition, however, that the Purāṇas were written in subservience to sectarian imposture, was judiciously selected, by Professor Wilson, as his principal argument in proof of

* *Vide supra*, p. 340, notes 1 and 2.

† Professor Wilson does refer to the prophetic parts of the Purāṇas. See Vol. I., Preface, pp. XVI. and XVII. ‡ *Vide supra*, p. 323, note †.

their modern compilation; for the internal evidence of the genuineness and antiquity of those works depends entirely on their exhibiting a faithful representation of the Hindu religion as it existed in remote times. But Professor Wilson has not yet proved that the Purāṇas contain sectarian doctrines; and I am convinced that, when the Purāṇas are more fully examined, and the Vedas more completely known, it will be ascertained that the rites, ceremonies, and doctrines of the Hindu religion, described in the Purāṇas, are, essentially, the same as those described in the Vedas, and that no essential difference exists between the ritual of the Vedas and the modes of worship prescribed in the Purāṇas, except the adoration of images; and I can affirm, from actual perusal, that the theological parts of the Purāṇas conform, in every respect, to the doctrines which are contained in the principal Upanishads; and these, it is admitted, are portions of the Vedas.*

With regard, however, to the legends which occur in the Purāṇas, I may be allowed to avail myself of the following remarks which I have made in another work: "*I observe, however (Mr. Colebrooke remarks), in many places [of the Vedas], the groundwork of legends which are familiar in mythological poems: such, for example, as the demon Vṛitra, slain by Indra, who is, thence, named Vṛitrahan; but I do not remark anything that corresponds with the favourite legends of those sects which worship either the Linga or Śakti,*

* The multiplied errors of this passage it must be unnecessary, at this day, to point out. The writers of the Purāṇas paid little intelligent heed to the Vedas, of which, for the rest, the Upanishads cannot, with any propriety, be considered as portions.

or else Ráma or Kṛishṇa. I except some detached portions the genuineness of which appears doubtful; as will be shown towards the close of this Essay.* But, instead of considering the allusions to popular mythology which occur in the Vedas as being the *ground-work* of subsequent legends, would it not be more consonant with reason and probability to conclude that these allusions actually referred to well-known legends? For, otherwise, it will be evident that they must have been altogether unintelligible,—expressed, as they were, with so much brevity, and, in fact, merely mentioned in that cursory manner which is usual in adverting to circumstances perfectly notorious. In which case, it would also appear most likely that the legends had been previously collected, and rendered accessible to every one by being recorded in those very works which are still extant under the name of Purāṇas; for it is quite impossible to discover, in the Purāṇas, a single circumstance which has the remotest semblance to the deification of heroes, a notion totally unknown to the Hindus.”†

It, hence, appears that there is an intimate correspondence between the legends, rites, ceremonies, and doctrines described in the Vedas and Purāṇas; and even Professor Wilson admits that there is “abundant positive and circumstantial evidence of the prevalence

* Researches into the Nature and Affinity of Ancient and Hindu Mythology, p. 188.

* Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, Vol. I., p. 28, note *. Colebrooke does not italicize this passage.

† Here, again, Colonel Kennedy has come to a conclusion widely different from that ordinarily entertained.

of the doctrines which they [the Purāṇas,] teach, the currency of the legends which they narrate, and the integrity of the institutions which they describe, at least three centuries before the Christian era:"* and that "the testimony that establishes their existence three centuries before Christianity carries it back to a much more remote antiquity."† But it is evident that such a correspondence with the Vedas, and with the ancient state of the Hindu religion, could not exist in the Purāṇas, unless they were written at a period when the traditions, the ritual, and the doctrines of the Vedas still constituted the prevailing form of the Hindu religion; and it is, therefore, utterly improbable that (as Professor Wilson supposes,) the Purāṇas, as now extant, could have been compiled between the eighth and seventeenth centuries, when the Muhammadans were extending their dominion over the greatest part of India, and when the Hindu religion had lost much of its original purity. His reasoning, consequently, is altogether ineffectual to prove that the Purāṇas are modern compilations; for it is not supported by either probability or proof, or by the internal evidence of those works; and it, thus, entirely fails in demonstrating that the Purāṇas were written or remodelled for the purpose of promoting the innovations introduced into the Hindu religion by Śankara Āchārya, Rāmānuja, Madhwācharya, and Vallabha, and of advocating the doctrines which they taught. All the remarks, therefore, on this subject, which Professor Wilson has yet published, are completely erroneous; and it may,

* Vol. I., Preface, p. XCIX.

† *Ibid.*

in consequence, he concluded that there are no valid grounds for disputing the genuineness and antiquity of the eighteen Purāṇas.

Bombay, 29th December, 1840.

VANS KENNEDY.

PROFESSOR WILSON'S REPLY.

SIR: Col. Vans Kennedy has lately favoured you with a series of letters upon the subject of my views of the modern date and sectarian spirit of the works termed, by the Hindus, Purāṇas. I entertain great respect for the Colonel's talents and industry, but none whatever for his love of disputation, or his pertinacity of opinion, and attach little weight to deductions that are founded upon imperfect investigation, and prejudices much more inveterate than any which he accuses me of cherishing. I have, therefore, no intention of entering upon any refutation of his notions, or vindication of my own. Having put forth conclusions drawn from a deliberate and careful scrutiny of the premisses which warrant them, I am contented to leave them to their fate: if they are sound, they need not be defended; if they are erroneous, they do not deserve to be defended. I have implicit faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth; and, as I am satisfied that my conclusions are, in the present instance, true, they have nothing to apprehend from Colonel Vans Kennedy.

Neither is it necessary, now, to expend time upon any discussion as to what the Purāṇas are. The con-

futation of Colonel Vans Kennedy's doctrines of their high antiquity and pure theological character is to be found in the works themselves. Translations of two of them have been published,—that of the *Vishnu Purāna* by myself, and that of the *Sri Bhāgavata* by M. Burnouf; and an appeal to these, which are now accessible to all who may be interested in the inquiry, will show how utterly untenable is Colonel Vans Kennedy's theory. If he objects to the particular examples here named, let him choose his own. He will pardon me for suggesting that he would be more usefully and creditably employed in translating and publishing some other Purāna or Purānas than in depreciating the better directed labours of other Sanskrit scholars. The result of such translations will, I have no doubt, confirm the conclusions which I have not found it possible to avoid, and with respect to which the opinions of M. Burnouf coincide with mine. The Purānas, in their present form, are not of high antiquity, although they are made up, in part, of ancient materials; and, in the legends which they relate, and the practices which they enjoin, they depart as widely from what appears to be the more primitive form of Brahmanism as they do from the subjects which authorities of unquestionable weight, as well as their own texts, declare should form the essential constituents of a Purāna.

Whilst, however, I think it a work of supererogation to refute errors which the Purānas themselves are at hand to correct, I must beg leave to set Colonel Vans Kennedy right on a matter not of opinion, but of fact. Conscious, no doubt, that his arguments will not bear the test of comparison with the original works, he has

attempted, at the close of his last letter, to insinuate a suspicion that the translation is not to be trusted, and charges me with having misunderstood and mistranslated a passage that is of some importance as a criterion of the date of the Purāṇa. He does not say that I have done so purposely, in order to fabricate a false foundation for my opinions; but the tendency of his animadversions leads to such an inference. To this inference I cannot stoop to reply; but I shall have no difficulty in showing that the charge of misapprehension applies not to me, but to Colonel Vans Kennedy.

Now, I will not venture to affirm that, in a work of some extent and, occasionally, of some difficulty, I have never mistaken my original; that I have always been sufficiently careful in expressing its purport; that I may not have, sometimes, in the course of a translation not professing to be literal,* diverged more than was prudent from the letter of my text. The latter may have been the case, in the passage in question; and Col. Vans Kennedy is literally correct in stating that the very words "Jainas and Bauddhas" are not in the Sanskrit, where they are found in the English. At the same time, had he fully comprehended the sense of the preceding passages, had he been aware that all which had gone before related to Jainas and Bauddhas, he must have admitted that their specification, which was recommended by the consideration of perspicuity, and by the construction of the English

* Whatever Professor Wilson may have meant, his words are: "In rendering the text into English, I have adhered to it as literally as was compatible with some regard to the usages of English composition Vol. I., Preface, p. CXVI.

version, was warranted by the context, and was, therefore, unobjectionable.*

I will not think so meanly of Col. Vans Kennedy's criticism, as to suppose it possible that it would cavil at words, or that it would attach any importance to the insertion of the terms "Jainas and Baudddhas" in the place where they occur, if it could be substantiated that, in all the preceding parts of the chapter, the text has had them in contemplation. This he denies, and I maintain. We shall see which is right.

The eighteenth Chapter of the third Book of the *Vishnu Purāna* describes, in the first part, the apostacy of certain persons from the Brahmanical faith, from the Vedas and Smṛitis in consequence of the doctrines of a false teacher, who is Vishnu in disguise. The heresies into which they fell were *two*. Col. Vans Kennedy's interpretation is "*one*"; and here is the source of his misapprehension. That he labours under an erroneous view of the sense of the passage, a brief examination of it will irrefutably demonstrate.

In the first place, then, speaking of those who first became followers of the false prophet, the text says, expressly: "They were called *Ārhatas*, from the phrase which the deceiver made use of, in addressing them, *ārhatā* (Ye are worthy) of this great doctrine."† So far there can be no question that the *Ārhatas* are named, by the *Vishnu Purāna*, as one set of schismatics.

* The words in question—Vol. III., p. 211,—are "Jaina and Baudddha". and, since Professor Wilson tacitly professed to translate on a uniform plan, he should have included them in parentheses, just as, in the preceding paragraph, he has parenthesized the words "and became Baudddhas".

† Compare the rendering in Vol. III., p. 209.

It is very true that we have not the name of the other apostate sect enunciated: but it is indicated in a manner not to be mistaken. "Know ye," says the teacher,—*budhyaswa*.* "It is known," reply the disciples,—*budhyate*.† If these inflexions of the verb *budh*, 'to know,' do not clearly intimate the followers of a faith who, from the same root, are named *Bauddhas*, I should like to know to what other class of Indian religionists it can apply.‡

It is not, however, from inferences, even thus palpable, that I am justified in limiting the designation of *Bauddhas* to the sect here described. Col. Vans Kennedy is told, in my Preface, that I have, invariably, consulted an able commentary on the text of the *Vishnu Purāna*; and to this commentary he either has, or has not, referred: if he has not, he has come to his task of criticism very ill-prepared: if he has, he should, in candour, have admitted that what he is pleased to term my misunderstanding or misrepresentation of the text was shared by learned Hindus, who, most assuredly, could not be suspected of any disposition to derogate from the sanctity and antiquity of such sacred books as the *Purānas*. If the word *Bauddha* is inaccurately specified, the error is as much the commentator's as mine. Col. Vans Kennedy may, possibly, set a higher value upon his own erudition than that of any native Pandit: he must not expect others to agree with him in an estimate: and, at any rate, he is bound, in fairness, to admit the existence of such an authority, supposing him to be aware of it,

* Correct to *budhyadhwam*. Moreover, *budhyaswa* means "know thou".

† See note † in the next page. ‡ Vide *infra*, p. 368, note †.

when he condemns an interpretation which it fully justifies. Ratnagarbha, the commentator on the *Vishnu Purāna*, explicitly states that, "in the repeated use of the words *budhyasva** and *budhyate*,† it is the intention of the text to explain the meaning of the denomination *Bauddha* (*Evam budhyatety-atra punaruktir Bauddha-pada-niruktyarthā.*)" I have been fully authorized, therefore, in inserting the term *Bauddhas*.

Having, thus, vindicated, unanswerably, the propriety of employing the word *Bauddha*, we come to that of *Jaina*. It has been shown that the Arhatas are named; and by these, I affirm, Jainas are intended. Col. Vans Kennedy asserts that the term is applied, in this very place, to Bauddhas, and adds: "It is singular . . . that Professor Wilson should assume, in direct opposition to the authority of the Purāṇa which he has, himself, translated, that the term *Arhata*, when it occurs . . . in the Purāṇas, should be considered to apply to Jina, and not to Buddha." I am not aware that I have said any such thing;§ but that is of no matter. In the passage in dispute, I do understand *Arhatas* to mean *Jainas*; and I am not so singular, in this understanding, as Col. Vans Kennedy fancies. I again appeal to

* See note * in the preceding page.

† The commentator, having to do with a verb, would not have used the term *punarukti*, 'iteration', unless he had been referring to a repetition of the same mood. The text—see Vol. III., p. 211, note §,—exhibits *budhyata*, *budhyadhoram*, and *budhyata aham*. Professor Wilson omitted to translate the first, hastily misrepresented the second, and mistook the third. If *evam* in the text, and *iti* in the commentary, had been preceded by *budhyate*, the result would have been *budhyata evam* and *budhyata iti*. ; Vide *supra*, p. 323.

§ As much may, however, fairly be taken as implied in Vol. I., Preface, pp. LXXIX., LXXX.

the commentator, in support of my translation. The Colonel, not perceiving that two different sects are described, asserts, as just seen, that *Ārhatas*, in this place, means *Buddhists*. Had he taken pains to be better informed, he would have found that there was sufficient authority for distinguishing them in this passage, and he would not have made an assertion so utterly at variance with the general purport of the whole of the description. *Ārhatas* does not mean *Buddhist*; for the commentator expressly observes, of the object of the text, when describing the operations of the false teacher: "Having expounded the doctrine of the *Ārhatas*, he proceeded to explain the doctrine of the *Bauddhas* (*Ārhatā-matam ukhṛā Bauddha-matam āha.*)" Ratnagarbha, therefore, unequivocally asserts that *two* sects (not *one*) are here described, and that *Ārhatas* are a different class of sectarians from *Buddhists* or *Bauddhas*. Col. Vans Kennedy is, therefore, wholly mistaken in understanding the passage to relate to *one* sect of schismatics only, and is wholly wrong in confounding *Ārhatas* and *Buddhists*.

That *Ārhatas* are not, in this place, *Buddhists*, is undeniable, upon authority which few will fail to prefer to Colonel Vans Kennedy's; and it only remains to determine what they are. To any one at all acquainted with the practices and tenets of the *Jainas*, as they have been explained by Mr. Colebrooke, they are sufficiently well indicated by allusions in the text of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, in the passage in question, to leave no doubt that they are intended. If *Jainas* are not meant, what are the schismatics here described by their doctrines, and designated by the term *Ārhatas*?

They are not Bauddhas: that is settled: and, when no perversity of ingenuity can identify Arhatas with Bauddhas, there is no alternative left but to identify them with Jainas. That the term does, very commonly, denote Jainas, is familiar to all who ever heard of either. Perhaps Colonel Vans Kennedy will admit this: perhaps he will, also, admit that the celebrated Jaina teacher and lexicographer Hemachandra is some authority for the accurate designation of the sect of which he was so distinguished an ornament, and that he gives the word *Arhat* as a synonym of *Jina*, *Tirthankara*, and the like.* This is a mere waste of words. When *Arhata* does not mean a *Bauddha*, it means a *Jaina*. It cannot mean a *Bauddha*, in the passages of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* which are now under discussion: because the Bauddhas are also specified and distinguished by both text and commentary: it, therefore, does mean Jaina: and, consequently, I am fully authorized in inserting the words *Jainas* and *Bauddhas* in the Translation.† The misapprehension is not mine; it is my critic's: with which restitution of what appertains to him, and not to me, I take my leave of him, and of all further controversy with him.

H. H. WILSON.

COLONEL KENNEDY'S REJOINDER.

SIR: The letter of Professor Wilson, inserted in the number of your Journal for May last (received here

* *Haima-kosa*, I., 24.

† This conclusion is not easy to accept. *Vide supra*, p. 360, note *.

on the 7th instant), has much surprised me; as I do not understand why he accuses me of "love of disputation" and "pertinacity of opinion": for the opinions expressed in the letters which I, some time ago, transmitted to you are contained in my work on Ancient and Hindu Mythology, published in 1831; and, to prepare materials for that work, I actually read, and carefully examined, all the eighteen Purāṇas, except the *Bhaviṣya*. When, therefore, Professor Wilson, in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*, took so very different a view of the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant, nothing could be more unobjectionable than my examining critically the remarks contained in that Preface, and making public the result of that examination. Nor could it be reasonably expected that I should admit the correctness of that view, when it appeared to me to have been formed on insufficient and erroneous grounds.

In his letter, Professor Wilson very politely observes: "Conscious, no doubt, that his arguments will not bear the test of comparison with the original works,¹ he has attempted, at the close of his last letter, to insinuate a suspicion that the translation is not to be trusted." I have, however, neither insinuated nor stated any objections to the accuracy of that Translation, except in one instance, in p. 340,* in which Professor Wilson has thus translated a passage of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*: "The delusions of the false teacher paused

¹ On the contrary, I have, in my former letters, transcribed the original Sanskrit, in the few instances in which I have specifically contradicted the statements of Professor Wilson.

* Vol. III., p. 211, in the present edition.

not with the conversion of the Daityas to the Jaina and Bauddha heresies." Of this passage I transcribed the original Sanskrit, in my last letter, in order to show that the terms *Jaina* and *Bauddha* were not contained in it. But I further observed: "Professor Wilson may have supposed that the term *Ārṇata* denoted the Jainas, and may have understood, from the words *budhyadhvam* and *budhyate*, that they applied to the Buddhists; and to this there could be no objection, had he expressed his opinion in a note, and not introduced into the text, the title of the chapter, and the index, the terms *Jainas* and *Bauddhas*." I, thus, anticipated all that Professor Wilson has said on this point, in his letter; and, as he admits, in it, that these terms are not to be found in the original, the question is, simply: Is a translator at liberty to insert, in the original text of the work which he translates, a name which is not contained in it, and then to argue that the work must be of modern date, because that particular name occurs in it? Such is the case, in the present instance: for Professor Wilson affirms that the Jainas are mentioned in the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, and adopts this circumstance as a criterion for fixing the dates when the Purāṇas were composed; but this name is not to be found in that Purāṇa; and I, therefore, justly objected to its being introduced into the Translation.

Professor Wilson, however, in his letter, remarks: "I will not think so meanly of Colonel Vans Kennedy's criticism, as to suppose it possible that it would cavil at words, or that it would attach any importance to the insertion of the terms 'Jainas and Bauddhas' in

the place where they occur, if it could be substantiated that, in all the preceding parts of the chapter, the text has had them in contemplation." But it is precisely to this that I object; for I contend that, in judging of the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, their text should be allowed to speak for itself, and not as it may be interpreted by translators and commentators. For, with respect to the passage in dispute, I observed, in my last letter: "Professor Wilson, therefore, has given to this chapter an interpretation not authorized by the original, in which nothing occurs which indicates that the composer of this Purāṇa intended to describe either Buddha or Jina, under this illusory form, or to adopt, or allude to, their doctrines, in the words spoken by it." To this he replies, in his letter: "In the first place, then, speaking of those who first became followers of the false prophet, the text says, expressly: 'They were called *Ārhatas*, from the phrase which the deceiver made use of, in addressing them, *ārhatā* (Ye are worthy) of this great doctrine.' So far there can be no question that the *Ārhatas* are named, by the *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, as one sect of schismatics." Admitted. He proceeds: "It is very true that *we have not the name* of the other apostate sect enunciated; but *it is indicated*¹ in a manner not to be mistaken. 'Know ye,' says the teacher,-- *budhyadhwain*.* 'It is known,' reply the disciples,-- *budhyate*. If these inflexions of the verb *budh*, 'to know', do not clearly

¹ The italics, in these two instances, are mine.

* Here Colonel Kennedy silently corrects an inadvertence of Professor Wilson. Vide *supra*, p. 361, note *.

intimate the followers of a faith who, from the same root, are named *Bauddhas*, I should like to know to what other class of Indian religionists it can apply." But there is nothing whatever, in the original, which shows that the second address of this false teacher was intended to inculcate doctrines different from those taught in his first address.* On the contrary, the former appears to be, clearly, a continuation of the latter: and, as it is not said, in the original, that a sect was denominated from the word *budhyadhvam*,† in the same manner that it is said that a sect was denominated from the word *arhatha*, it is most probable that, in this passage, the *Arhata* sect is, alone, intended. But Professor Wilson observes: "If Jainas are not meant, what are the schismatics here described by their doctrines, and designated by the term *Arhatas*? They are not *Bauddhas*; that is settled: and, when no perversity of ingenuity can identify *Arhatas* with *Bauddhas*,‡ there is no alternative left but to identify them with Jainas."

* Professor Wilson seems to forget, here, his note in p. 339:

* The Sanskrit text distinctly enough points to two forms of heterodoxy. The first is intimated as the *Jaina*, by mention not only of one of the names of its professors, but, also, of one of the differentiae of their doctrines; and the stanza to which reference is made, just above, intends, undeniably, the *Bauddha*. The writer of the *Vishnu-purāṇa* seems to regard the Jainas and the *Bauddhas* as, in some sort, cognate. That he represents the Jainas as preceding the *Bauddhas* manifests that his information as to the history of these two classes of religionists was far from exact,—a striking argument of his modernity.

† If Colonel Vans Kennedy had recognized that the original has *budhyata*, *budhyadhvam*, and *budhyata*,—and all in one line,—could he have resisted the conclusion that these words indicate *Buddha*? See, further, note ‡ in p. 377, *infra*.

‡ Vol. III., p. 209, note 2, in the present edition.

It is in this singular manner that Professor Wilson attempts to prove that the Purāṇas, as now extant, are modern compilations; for he entirely disregards the original text, and substitutes, for it, his own inferences and assumptions. In this instance, he admits, in his letter, that it is the term *Ārḥata*, and not *Jaina*, that is contained in the original; and he, further, admits that, in it, the name *Bauddha* is not enunciated, but merely indicated; and yet he maintains that he was "fully authorized in inserting the words *Jainas* and *Bauddhas* in the Translation." He remarks, also, that, though "Colonel Vans Kennedy may, possibly, set a higher value upon his own erudition than that of any native Pandit, he must not expect others to agree with him in an estimate." But I may be permitted to observe that long experience has convinced me that, although commentaries on Sanskrit works are, no doubt, of much use, yet they are by no means safe guides for ascertaining the plain and unsophisticated meaning of the text. In objecting, therefore, to the translation of the passage in dispute, I did not think it necessary to notice whether or not it agreed with the commentary; and Professor Wilson has, now, most unfortunately for his argument, referred to it: for the commentator never uses the word *Jaina*, but always *Ārḥata*;^{*} as in the passage quoted from the commentary in p. 43 of the *Asiatic Journal* for May last.[†] Conse-

of the Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*: "Here is further confirmation of the Jainas being intended by our text; as the term *Ārḥata* is, more particularly, applied to them, although it is also used by the Buddhists."

^{*} Vide *infra*, p. 376, note †.

[†] Vide *supra*, p. 363.

quently, Professor Wilson has no right to quote the commentary of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, as an authority in support of his assumption, that the *Ārhata* of the Purāṇas means the Jaina sect.* It is, however, on this assumption that Professor Wilson, when speaking of the date of that Purāṇa, hesitates not to state: "Both Bauddhas and Jainas are adverted to [in it]. It was, therefore, written before the former had disappeared.† But they existed, in some parts of India, as late as the twelfth century, at least; and it is probable that the Purāṇa was compiled before that period"‡ Thus, from a few verses of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, in which no sect is mentioned except the *Ārhata*, Professor Wilson assumes that the *Bauddhas* and *Jainas* are adverted to, in it, and, hence, fixes the compilation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa* at some time before the twelfth century. On the total invalidity of such a mode of reasoning I need not remark; but it seems extraordinary that he should have called attention to it by his ill-judged letter; as he has, by the arguments contained in it, fully confirmed all that I have said relative to his assertions and statements being at complete variance with what is actually contained in the Purāṇas, and to his being,

* Preface to the Translation of the *Vishnu Purāṇa*, p. LXXII.

• This is mere paltering. *Ārhata*, when it does not mean Bauddha, means Jaina; and Professor Wilson, in p. 363, *supra*, quotes the commentator Ratnagarbha as saying: "Having expounded the doctrine of the *Ārhatas*, he proceeded to explain the doctrine of the Bauddhas."

† Is this logic conclusive? Save in a spirit of prophecy, the Bauddhas could not be spoken of before they appeared. But why might not a Hindu writer make mention of them after their disappearance, just as well as during their presence?

‡ See Vol. I., Preface, p. CXI.

in consequence, unqualified to express a correct opinion respecting their age, and their scope and tendency.

I do not, therefore, understand what Professor Wilson means by observing, in his letter, that he has "implicit faith in the ultimate prevalence of truth." I objected to his introducing into his Translation of the *Vishnu Purána* the names of two sects which are not contained in the original, and to his adopting these names as a criterion for fixing the dates of the Puráñas; and he admits these facts. The truth, consequently, in this instance, belongs to my objections. Although, also, he considers it quite superfluous to enter into any controversy with me, yet it has been hitherto supposed that discussion was the best means of ascertaining the truth: and it is, surely, not sufficient that the Professor of Sanskrit in the University of Oxford should be satisfied that his conclusions are true; for it might be expected that he would be prepared to support those conclusions, whenever controverted, by argument and authority. Professor Wilson may think that my deductions are founded on imperfect investigation and inveterate prejudice, and that the refutation of my doctrines of the high antiquity and pure theological¹ character of the Puráñas is to be found in the works themselves.* But this is not enough; for, if my theory on these points is utterly untenable, it

¹ I have never described the Puráñas as being *purely theological*; as I have merely stated that their principal object is moral and religious instruction; and I have, invariably, used the words "mythology" and "theology" in order to show that these subjects are of a distinct nature, although both are treated of in the Puráñas.

* *Vide supra*, pp. 357, 358.

would, most assuredly, be much more conducive to the prevalence of truth to expose its erroneousness than to refer, for its refutation, to such voluminous works as the Purāṇas, which scarcely any person will take the trouble to examine. The weight, however, which should be attached to my opinions respecting the genuineness and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant, is not the point in question; for I observed, in my last letter, that Professor Wilson had taken a most erroneous view of the remote and actual state of the Hindu religion, which had, alone, led him to ascribe a modern origin to the Purāṇas; but, that, "as he has not quoted any passages from the Purāṇas, in which sectarian fervour and exclusiveness are exhibited, and in which circumstances of comparatively recent date are mentioned, it may be concluded that he knew of no such passages: as their production would, at once, have proved the point which he wished to establish.* This negative argument acquires the greater force from Professor Wilson having stated that he has collected a voluminous series of indices, abstracts, and translations of particular parts of all the Purāṇas; and, consequently, if any passages occur, in them, which inculcate the *exclusive* worship of Vishṇu or Śiva, or the worship of Rāma, Kṛishṇa, or Śakti, or which mention the Jainas, or any modern sect, or any comparatively recent event,† he could have had no difficulty in producing such passages, in support of his statements; and their non-production, therefore, must be considered

* *Vide supra*, p. 340, note 1 and •; also, p. 353, note †.

† For Paurāṇik mention of the introduction of the Parsees into India, *vide infra*, pp. 381 — 385.

as strong proof of their non-existence." It is not, consequently, the opinions which Professor Wilson or myself entertains on this subject that should be considered, but that which is actually contained in the Purāṇas. I affirm that the Purāṇas do not contain what Professor Wilson has stated is contained in them; and, as I cannot be required to prove a negative, it remains with him to produce such passages, from those works, as will demonstrate that my affirmation is unfounded. Until, however, such passages are produced, I may be allowed to repeat my former conclusions, that Professor Wilson's opinion, that the Purāṇas, as now extant, are compilations made between the eighth and seventeenth centuries, rests solely on gratuitous assumptions and unfounded assertions, and that his reasoning, in support of it, is either futile, fallacious, contradictory, or improbable.

It is not, I may trust, necessary that I should disclaim all intention of depreciating, by what I have written at any time, the labours of any Sanskrit scholar. In the present instance, in particular, as I had given some time and some attention to the examination of the Purāṇas, and to acquiring information concerning the remote and actual state of the Hindu religion, I saw no reason for refraining from making public my objections to the view which Professor Wilson had taken of the age, the scope, and the tendency of the Purāṇas, in the Preface to his Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*. It must, also, be evident that, if the opinions expressed respecting any part of Sanskrit literature were not controverted, when erroneous, it would be impossible that the real nature of that literature could

ever be 'ascertained. Had, therefore, Professor Wilson been solicitous for the prevalence of truth, he should not have been indignant at the remarks on his theory, which you obliged me by publishing in the *Asiatic Journal*; but, on the contrary, he should have taken the trouble of examining my objections, and of exposing their erroneousness, if unfounded; but, if founded, candour and the love of truth should have induced him to acknowledge that he had called in question, on insufficient grounds, the genuineness and antiquity of the eighteen Purāṇas.¹

Bombay, 17th July, 1841.

VANS KENNEDY.

NOTE.

Professor Wilson seems to have misunderstood the reason which led me to point out, in my last letter, that he had misunderstood and misinterpreted a passage in a Purāṇa which he had, himself, translated: for, in his reply, he merely defends the introduction, into the translation, of the words "Jainas" and "Bauddhas";

¹ It is singular that Professor Wilson has, in one part of his letter, adopted my view of the subject; as he actually speaks, in it,* of "learned Hindus, who, most assuredly, could not be suspected of any disposition to derogate from the sanctity and antiquity of such sacred books as the Purāṇas." It would seem, therefore, that, however satisfied Professor Wilson may be with the truth of the conclusions which he has published, he, nevertheless, fluctuates in his opinion respecting the sanctity and antiquity of the Purāṇas, as now extant, or their being modern compilations, made for the purpose of sectarial imposture.

* *Vide supra*, p. 361.

but he says nothing with respect to his having adopted the names of these sects as a criterion for fixing the modern dates at which he thinks the Purāṇas were written. It was, however, to this that I particularly objected, in my former letters; for, in p. L. of the Preface to the Translation of the *Vishṇu Purāṇa*,* Professor Wilson states that “the date of the Kūrma Purāṇa is, avowedly, posterior to the establishment of the Jaina sect: and that there is no reason to believe that the doctrines of Arhat or Jina were known in the early centuries of our era.”† And, in his notes to the Translation, pp. 339, 340, 341,‡ he remarks: “Here is further confirmation of the Jainas being intended by our text.”—“We, have, therefore, the Bauddhas noticed as a distinct sect. If the author wrote from a personal knowledge of Buddhists in India, he could not have written much later than the tenth or eleventh century.”¹—“We may have, in this

¹ But why not much earlier? As it is sufficiently proved that Buddha flourished in the sixth century *before* our era.

* See Vol. I., Preface, p. LXXIX. If Colonel Vans Kennedy had quoted more ingenuously, the reader would have seen that, in the passage which Professor Wilson translates from the *Kūrma-purāṇa*, the Bhairava, Vama, and Yāmala scriptures are named with the Ārḥata; and, the former being modern, there is a strong presumption that the term Ārḥata is meant to denote a faith more recent than the Bauddha, namely, the Jaina. Still more cogent, as against the Colonel, is his own fuller rendering—in pp. 286, 287, *supra*,—of the passage in question. For, there, besides the scriptures just enumerated, those of the Kapālas are specified; and the Kapālas are not known as a sect of much antiquity.

† Suspicion of mistake or forgery not being entertained, already in the fifth century of our era the Jainas must have been a sect of some considerable age. For a Jaina inscription, said to be dated in the Śaka year 411, corresponding to A. D. 489, see the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Vol. V., pp. 342, 344. ‡ See Vol. III., pp. 209, 211, 214.

conflict of the orthodox divinities and heretical Daityas, some covert allusion to political troubles, growing out of religious differences, and the final predominance of Brahmanism. Such occurrences seem to have preceded the invasion of India by the Mohammedans, and prepared the way for their victories."

But, after thus making use of the names "Jainas" and "Bauddhas", to prove the modern compilation of the Purāṇas, Professor Wilson now admits that these names are not to be found in the original; but he maintains that he was fully authorized in inserting them in it, by the context and commentary. Yet, in his letter, he quotes no part of the context,* in order to evince that it relates to the Jainas and Buddhists, and rests his argument, in support of its being these sects that are intended in the passage in dispute, solely on the words *Ārhata*, and *budhyadhwaṃ*, and *budhyate*. But the commentator does not say that *Ārhata* means *Jaina*;† and Professor Wilson assigns no other reason

* The English translation, even apart from Professor Wilson's supplementations, is quite sufficient to show that the Jainas and Bauddhas are meant to be described.

† I think I am not wrong in saying that Hindu writers, as a rule,—so far as I have examined them,—affect the terms *Arhat* and *Ārhata*, rather than *Jina* and *Jaina*. Possibly the former may have become, comparatively, more dyslogistic, as they easily might, by suggestion; for, though *Jina* was the name of a Buddha,—but one not much heard of, apparently, in later times,—*Ārhat* denoted another Buddha, whose name was of more frequent mention, perhaps from its adoption by the Jainas. These religionists, while professing no reverence for Buddha, did profess reverence for *Ārhat*, an equivocal designation, and which reminded of the Bauddhas; and this fact, it may be, influenced the Hindus, with their hatred of Buddhism and everything therewith cognate, to call the Jainas, by preference, *Ārhatas*. It should seem that the Jainas, among themselves, were more generally denominated Jainas.

for supposing that these two sects are one and the same than that, as the *Ārhatas* cannot be Bauddhas, they must be Jainas. I am, however, obliged to observe that the original does not in any manner admit of this translation in p. 339:* “In this manner, exclaiming to them, ‘Know’ (*budhyadhwam*), and they replying, ‘It is known’ (*budhyate*), these Daityas were induced, by the arch-deceiver, to deviate from their religious duties (and become Bauddhas).” For, in the original,—at least, according to my copy of it,—it is not said that the words *budhyadhwam* and *budhyate* were spoken by this emanation of Vishṇu and the Daityas; but they are distinctly ascribed to Parāśara, the narrator of the Purāṇa, who, after relating what was said by this false teacher, proceeds to narrate that it was thus by saying “know ye”, and, they replying “it is known”, that Māyāmoha caused the Daityas to forsake their religion.[†] The word *budhyadhwam*, how-

१ पराशर उवाच ।

एवं बुध्यध्वं बुध्यतेवमितीरयन् ।

मायामोहः स देतेयान्धर्ममत्याजयन्निजम् ॥ :

Vishnu Purāṇa, Part III., Chap. XVIII.

On the waning of the Bauddhas, while religious rivalry was still active, and controversial debate still ran high, no doubt the Hindus transferred to the Jainas a liberal share of the animosity of which their heretical congeners had been the object.

See, further, *infra*, p. 379, note †.

* See Vol. III., p. 230.

† See my translation of the passage, in Vol. III., p. 210, note §. Professor Wilson, in his rendering of the passage, omits, as he frequently omits, the introductory words “Parāśara said”. But the omission, in this instance, is of no help to Colonel Vans Kennedy’s argumentation,—if such it may be called.

‡ For the correct reading of the first verse, see Vol. III., p. 210,

ever, is used in this address of the false teacher, but evidently in its usual sense; for Professor Wilson thus translates the sentence in which it occurs: "Understand my words; for they have been uttered by the wise."* There are, consequently, no grounds whatever for supposing that the words *budhyadhvam* and *budhyate* were, in this passage, intended to indicate the "Bauddhas"; and, as this emanation of Vishṇu was not Buddha,† it must be evident that the doctrines which he is here represented as teaching could not be the same as those which were first taught by Buddha. The original, therefore, did not justify this gloss of Professor Wilson, "and become Bauddhas": for it is not said, in it, that, after the false teacher had addressed

note §. Provided there is not a typographical oversight, was it because he could make nothing of the word बुध्यते which he leaves out, that the Colonel abridged the text?

In thinking, like Professor Wilson, that the word coalescing with एव is बुध्यते, he evinced forgetfulness of a most elementary rule of Sanskrit grammar.

Though Professor Wilson misapprehended the sense of the stanza in question, his very confident critic did not take a single step towards setting him right.

* See Vol. III., p. 210. The original is:

बुध्यध्वं मे वचः सम्यग्बुधैरेवमुदीरितम् ।

† According to the *Padma-purāṇa*, the god Śiva declares:

"देवानां नाशनार्थाय विष्णुना बुद्धरूपिणा ।

बौद्धशास्त्रमसत्प्रोक्तं नमनीयपटादिकम् ॥

"In order to the destruction of the Daityas, the false Bauddha system"—with its naked *in ages*, blue vestments, and the rest,—was enunciated by Vishṇu in the form of Buddha."

Here there is a distinct reference, in direct contradiction of Colonel Kennedy's positive assertion.

I have no copy of the *Padma-purāṇa* at hand, by which to verify this extract. It will be found quoted in p. 6 of my edition of the *Sāṅkhya-pravachana-bhāṣya*, in the *Bibliotheca Indica*.

the Daityas* a second time, a second sect was originated; and it appears evident that, throughout this passage, the text relates to no other sect than the *Ārhatas*, which is, alone, mentioned in it.

It is, hence, undeniable that Professor Wilson has not “vindicated, unanswerably, the propriety of employing the word *Bauddha*”; and, consequently, the singular futility of his argument, with respect to the Jainas, becomes the more conspicuous. The *Ārhatas* “are not Bauddhas (he says); that is settled: and, when no perversity of ingenuity can identify *Ārhatas* with Bauddhas, there is no alternative left but to identify them with Jainas.” But, as Professor Wilson has not produced, and I am certain that he cannot produce, any Sanskrit authority which proves that the *Ārhatas* of the Purāṇas is the same as the Jaina sect,† and, as

* But not those who had already been proselytized. *Vide supra*, p. 351, note .

† There is no question that the Purāṇas were written after the rise of the Jainas, and that the authors of the Purāṇas, equally with their successors, designated them, preferably, as *Ārhatas*. *Vide supra*, p. 376, note †.

I do not mean, however, that the Jainas were called *Ārhatas* only. *Vide supra*, p. 351, note †.

In Nāgeśa Bhaṭṭa's gloss on Govardhana's *Saptaśati*, entitled *Guru-vyākhyā*, the subjoined verses, which follow a denunciation of Śāṇḍilya as heretical, are quoted from the *Linga-purāṇa*:

पाञ्चरात्रं भागवतं बीजं दैगम्बरं तथा ।
लोकायतं च कापालं सीमं पाशुपतं तथा ॥
लाकुलं (?) भैरवं वामं शक्तं शास्त्रवयामले ।
एवंविधानि शास्त्राणि विद्वानि महामुने ॥
स्वतः प्रमाणभूतेन वेदेन मुनिसत्तम ।
वेदिकानि शास्त्राणि मनस्यापि न संस्मरेत् ॥

Doctrines here specified, and stigmatized as repugnant to are the Pāñcharātra, the Bhāgavata, the Bauddha, the Daṅgambara, the

he here admits that it is not the same as the Buddhist sect, it must, consequently, follow that the "Jainas" and "Bauddhas" are neither mentioned nor indicated* in the passage in dispute; and that he, therefore, attempts in vain to show that he was fully authorized in inserting the names of these sects in his translation.

V. K.

Lokāyata, the Kāpāla, the Sauma, the Pāśupata, the Lākula(?), the Bhairava, the Vāma, the Śākta, the Śāmbhava, and the Yāmala.

It would be very riskful to deny that the term Daigambara here points to one of the two grand divisions of the Jainas.

The preceding passage I have been obliged, from want of access to manuscripts, to take on trust.

* As to palpable indication of the Bauddhas there, *vide supra*, p. 368, note †.

CORRIGENDA, &c.

VOL. I.

PREFACE.

P. VII., note †. That Colonel Wilford was acquainted with the *Jyotirvi-dābharaṇa* appears from the *Asiatic Researches*, Vol. IX., pp. 82, 131.

P. XLV., note *. Read editor's note in p. LV. *infra*.

P. LVI., l. 11. The Translator had, erroneously, "Kroshfuki," where I have put Kraushfuki.

P. LXII., ll. 10—14. The work there described is properly entitled *Vahni-purāṇa*, and differs from the *Agni-purāṇa*.

P. LXIV., l. 15. The following observations touching the Magas were communicated by Professor Wilson to Père Renaud, and will be found in his *Memoire Géographique, Historique et Scientifique sur l'Inde, etc.*, pp. 391—397:

"In the brief notice of the Bhavishya Purāṇa which I have given in the Preface of the Vishṇu Purāṇa, it is stated that the greatest part of the work relates to the worship of the Sun, and that, in the last chapters, there is some curious matter relating to the Magas, worshippers of the Sun: as if the compiler had adopted the Persian term Mugh, and connected the fire-worshippers of Iran with those of India. But the subject, it is added, requires further investigation.

"The last twelve or fourteen chapters of the Bhavishya Purāṇa are, in fact, dedicated to the tradition, of which a summary and not altogether accurate account has been given by Colonel Wilford, in the Eleventh Volume of the *Asiatic Researches*, and which records the introduction of the worship of the Sun into the north-west of Hindusthān, by Sāmba, the son of Kṛishṇa. This prince, having become a leper, through the imprecation of the irascible sage Durvāsas, whom he had offended, and despairing of a cure from human skill, resolved to retire into the forest, and apply himself to the adoration of Sūrya, of whose graciousness and power he had learned many marvellous instances from the sage Nārada. Having obtained the assent of Kṛishṇa, Sāmba departed from Dwārakā, and, proceeding from the northern bank of the Sindhu (Indus), he crossed the great river the Chandrabhāgā (the Chinab), to the celebrated grove of Mitra (Mitravana), where, by fasting, penance, and prayer, he acquired the favour of Sūrya, and was cleansed of his leprosy. By Sūrya's injunctions, and as a mark of his gratitude, Sāmba engaged to construct a temple of the Sun, and to found, in connexion with it, a city on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā. As he was in some uncertainty what form of the Sun he should set up, a miraculous image of great splendour appeared to him, when bathing, which floated on the current, and, being wafted to the shore, was accepted by Sāmba, as sent to him by the original, and was, accordingly, placed, with due honour, in the temple dedicated to the Sun.

"After narrating these events, several chapters of the Purāṇa are occupied with the instructions communicated to Sāmba by Nārada, regarding the ceremonies to be observed in the construction of the

temple and the daily worship of the image. Sām̐ba is desirous of retaining learned and pious Brahmins for the purpose of performing the appointed rites, and receiving the donations he may make to the Sun; but Narada, in the spirit of the prohibition found in Manu, against the performance of idol-worship, as a source of emolument, by Brahmins, apprises Sām̐ba that no Brahman can undertake the office of ministering priest without incurring degradation in this life, and punishment in the next. He, therefore, refers Sām̐ba to Gauramukha (White-face), the Purohita (or family-priest) of Ugrasena, king of Mathura, as the only person who could tell him whom he might most suitably employ as the officiating priests of the Sun; and Gauramukha directs him, in consequence, to invite the Magas to discharge the duty, as they are, in an especial degree, the worshippers of Sūrya.

The Magas, according to the legend narrated, not very distinctly, by the compiler of the Purāṇa, were at once the progeny of Agni and Āditya (Fire and the Sun) by Nishkumbhā, the daughter of a holy sage named Riju or Rijwāhwa (*jīva*, upright, and *āhwa*, appellation), of the race named Mihira. She was dedicated to Agni by her father, but the Sun, fascinated by her beauty, assumed the form of Agni, and begot a son, named Jalagambū, from whom sprang the Magas. Riju, displeased with his daughter, condemned her offspring to degradation, but the Sun, at Nishkumbhā's entreaty, although he could not raise the Magas to a level with the Brahmins, conferred upon them the almost equal distinction of being his chosen ministers.

Although Gauramukha could inform Sām̐ba what priests the prince ought to employ, he is represented as ignorant of the place where they dwelt, and, referring Sām̐ba again to the Sun, Sūrya desires him to repair to Śāka-dwīpa, beyond the sea of salt water, in which region the Magas corresponded with the caste of Brahmins in Jambu-dwīpa or Indū; the other three castes being the Magasas, Mānasas, and Mandagas, equivalent to Kshattriyas, Vaiśyas, and Śūdras: there were no mixed castes in Śāka-dwīpa. It may be here observed that a similar enumeration of the tribes of Śāka-dwīpa occurs in other Purāṇas, as in The Vishṇu Purāṇa, where, instead of Magas, the Translation has Mṛigas; but this may be only a various and, perhaps, an inaccurate reading of the original manuscript.

In obedience to the commands of Sūrya, and with the help of Kīshnū, who lent him the use of Garudā for the journey, Sām̐ba went to Śāka-dwīpa, and induced eighteen families of Magas to return with him to India, to fulfil the function of ministering priests in the temple of the Sun, which he now completed, building, at the same time, around the temple, a spacious city, which was called, after him, Sambapūra. The legend also relates that the Yādava prince prevailed upon his kinsmen, the Bhojas of Dwārakā, a branch of the race of Yadu, to give their daughters, in marriage, to his Magas, and their descendants were, thence, called Bhojakas. But, in a subsequent passage, with an inconsistency not unfrequent in some of the Purāṇas, it is said that ten only of the eighteen families received damsels of the tribe of Bhoja, whilst the other eight, who were of the rank only of Śūdras, although equally worshippers of the Sun, were married to Śāka maidens: their descendants were named Mandagas.

So far there is little, in the legend, beyond the name *Maga*, and the worship of the Sun, to suggest any connexion between it and the history of the fire-worshippers of Persia. But there are other particulars mentioned, which are of a more explicit tenour. They cannot, however, always be satisfactorily made out, in consequence of the obvious inaccuracy of the texts, arising, in a great measure, from the usual carelessness of the copyists, but partly from the occurrence of terms, probably ill understood and imperfectly represented by the original writer. There are three copies of the *Bhaviṣya Purāṇa* in the Library of the East India House, and two in the Bodleian. One of each collection omits the legend: of the remaining copies, the Oxford manuscript is the most correct; but it abounds in mistakes. Dr. Maximilian Müller has kindly furnished me with a transcript of the passages I required, and has enabled me to collate them with the East India House copies, from which, although some particulars remain doubtful, yet enough may be extracted to establish the identity of the *Magas* of the *Purāṇas* with the followers of Zoroaster.

In answer to various questions relating to the practices of the *Magas*, put by Śaṃba, the Sage Vyasa professes to give him some account of them, beginning with the explanation of their name, which is not very intelligible. Apparently, it may be rendered 'The *Magas* are so called because they do not proceed by a contrary Veda' (*viparyastena vedena Magā nāgatyato magāḥ*; as it from *ma*, 'not', and *ga*, 'who goes'), the writer considering the precepts of the Zend authorities is not opposed to those of the Vedas. The Sun, Vyasa continues, in the form of fire, bears or wears (*dhārayate*, what he calls a *kūrcha*; and, therefore, the *Magas* are wearers of it (*kūrcha-dhārināḥ*): the word ordinarily implies a bunch of peacock-feathers, but it may have, in this place, some other sense. The *Magas* eat in silence, whence they are called *Mauṇnāḥ* (silentaries). They are also termed *Vacharcha*, from *Vacha*, said to be a name of the Sun, and *archā*, 'worship'. They have four Vedas, termed *Veda*, *Viśva-vada*, *Vidut* (?), and *Angirasa* (?). Geṇa or Gesha (perhaps for Śeṣha), the great serpent, having cast off his skin in the Sun's car, it became the origin of what is here called the *Amāhaka*, which is given by the *Magas*, on solemn occasions, and with appropriate *mantras* or prayers. This is somewhat differently told a few lines afterwards. All creatures, it is there said, — Gods, Rishis, Rākṣasas, Nāgas, — assemble, at stated periods, in the chariot of the Sun; and on one of these occasions, *Vasuki*, the king of the serpents, dropped his old skin: it was picked up by Aruṇa, and given, by him, to the Sun, who put it on round his waist, in honour of *Vasuki*, as if unseparated from the body of the Nāga, whence it was called *Ayanga* (from *a*, 'not,' *vi* 'apart from,' and *anga*, 'the body'). From its being thus worn by the Sun, it became sacred, in the estimation of his worshippers; and they, therefore, constantly wear it. Whoever goes without it is impious and impure, and falls into hell. Like the *Munja* of the Brahmins, it is said, it should be put on in the eighth year from conception. It is to be made of cotton, or wool, of one colour: the best kind is 132 inches (or fingers) long; the next, 120; and it should never be less than 108 inches in length. Other names appear to be applied to it, as *Amāhaka*, *Sāra-pradhāna*, *Bhava-sāra*, and *Sāra-marṣā*, but this is uncertain, as the passage is corrupt, and some other article may be intended, invested with which, and the *Ayanga*, the worshipper is said to be *Pa-*

thitāṅga. Again, in place of the *Darbha*, or sacred grass of the Brahmins, the *Pavitra*, or purificatory instrument of sacrifice of the Magas, is said, by Vyāsa, to be called *Varsma*, or (in another place,) *Varsama*.

"A variety of other particulars are briefly mentioned, some of which are intelligible, others uncertain. A Maga must not touch a dead body, nor a woman at certain seasons; he should (not?) cast a dead dog on the earth, and should not die without worshipping the Sun. He should let his beard grow, travel on foot, cover his face in worshipping, and hold what is called the *Pirriaka* in the right hand, and the *Sankha* (conch-shell?) in the left; and he should worship the Sun at the three Sandhyas, and at the five festivals. Other details are too questionably particularized to be specified; but more than enough has been cited to establish the fact that the Bhavishya Purāṇa intends, by Magas, the Mughhs of the Persians, the Magi of the Greeks, and the Parsees of India. Thus, the rule of eating in silence, the covering of the mouth at worship, the prohibition of touching a corpse, or, at least, the impurity thereby contracted, are characteristic of the Parsee faith. A still more decisive indication is furnished by what is related of the *Aryanga*, which is, clearly, the sacred girdle of the Parsees, called, most commonly, *Kusti* or *Kosti*, but also *Aiuryongham*, according to Anquetil du Perron, as quoted by Dr. John Wilson, in his notices of the Parsee religion. The latter also observes, almost in the words attributed to Vyasa: 'The *Kusti* bears some analogy to the *Munja* of the Brahmins.' According to him, the *Kusti* should be put on when the child has attained the age of seven years, seven months, and ten days, (which agrees well enough with our text); and the wickedness of not wearing it, and the consequences of such impiety, are similarly described in Zend and Pehlevi works. Unluckily, I have not, at present, the means of consulting Anquetil du Perron; or some other analogies might be traced. But there can be no doubt that another term which occurs in the Sanskrit text is identifiable in the Zend, and that the *Varsma* or *Varsama* of the Bhavishya Purāṇa is the *Barsam* or *Barsom* of the Vendidad,—a bundle of twigs of the pomegranate, in place of the bundle of sacred grass used by the Brahmins, and equally an essential part of the apparatus employed in the worship of Fire, or oblations offered to that element, in both religions.

"It is evident, therefore, that the Bhavishya Purāṇa, in the legend of Sāmba, has in view the introduction of the fire-worship of Iran; and it is curious to find so prompt an adoption by the Brahmins, and such a cordial tolerance of a foreign system of religious practices and belief. The only question that suggests itself concerns the period at which this took place, the time at which the Brahmins acknowledged the high-priests of the Sun as little inferior, in sanctity, to their own order;—whether it followed the flight of the Parsees to Gujerat, in the beginning of the eighth century, or whether it occurred some few centuries earlier, when we have reason to infer from numismatic evidence, Persian princes or satraps exercised authority on the north-west frontier of India. Either period would not be incompatible with the probable date of the Bhavishya Purāṇa, which, in its actual form, cannot pretend to very remote antiquity. That the legend is of the more recent era is most likely; and this is confirmed by the circumstance of Sāmba's being fabled to have gone from Dwārakā, in Gujerat, to bring the Magas from their native country to India. That the Parsees ever made

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their way into the Punjab is very questionable; and no traces are recorded of their presence on the banks of the Chandrabhāgā; nor have we any notice of the remains of a temple of the Sun in that quarter, although, according to Colonel Wilford, there was a city of Sām̐ba in the same direction."

Instead of "Nishkumbhā", the preferable reading of MSS. seems to be Nikshubhā. Nor is Rijwāhwa called by a second name, "Riju". For the castes in Śāka-dwīpa, see Vol. II., pp. 199, 200. It will there be learned, from one of my annotations, that, in lieu of "Mṛiga",—the only reading known to Professor Wilson,—I found, in most of my copies, the undoubtedly correct 'Maga'.

P. LXV., l. 3. *Read* Yudhishthira.

P. LXXXVI., l. 18. See, for Hayagrīva, Vol. V., p. 2, notes 1 and ३.

P. XC., l. 12. *For* Kāmākshyā *read* Kāmākhyā. And see Vol. V., p. 88, notes 2 and ***.

P. CXIX., l. 22. *Read* beliefs.

P. CXV., l. 1. I have corrected Professor Wilson's "Ratnagarbha Bhatta". *Bhattachārjya* is a title which has been used, I believe, only in Lower Bengal; whereas the title of *Bhatta*, there unknown, seems to have been current in almost every other part of India.

P. CXV., l. 3 *ab infra*. Instead of "Chitsukha Yogin", Professor Wilson had, erroneously, "Chit-sukha-yoni."

For Chitsukha Muni, perhaps the same as Chitsukha Yogin, see my Sanskrit Catalogue, pp. 155 and 206.

P. 2, l. 2. One of my MSS. here interpolates the following stanzas:

विश्वेश्वरं विश्वसृजं वरेण्यं
विश्वं विशुद्धं वरदं वरिष्ठम् ।
अनादिमध्यान्तमसत्त्वरूपं
विष्णुं विभुं विप्रहितं नतोऽस्मि ॥
उत्पत्तिस्थितिसंहारमोक्षाणां चैककारणम् ।
नारायणमणीयांसं प्रणतोऽस्मि जगद्गुरुम् ॥

P. 6, l. 7. Instead of the five stanzas which, according to the text followed by the Translator, begin the work, three of my best MSS. give only the last of them, preceded by the following:

श्रीश्रीनिधानं गुणरत्नराजितं
पराशरं ब्रह्मसुधामूर्ध्नि भजे ।
हृद्यो हरेर्विष्णुपुराणकीर्तुभो
यस्माद्ब्रह्मासविभुश्च विश्वदृक् ॥

P. 6, l. 16. "All the Hindu systems consider vegetable bodies as endowed with life." So, and correctly, remarks Professor Wilson, in his collected Works, Vol. III., p. 381. *Charāchāra*, or the synonymous *sthāvara* and *jangama*, is, therefore, inaccurately rendered, in pp. 6, 47, 64, 149, 183, and elsewhere, "animate and inanimate", "sentient beings" and "unconscious", "conscious and unconscious beings", &c. &c. 'Loco-
V.

motive and fixed' would be better, since trees are considered to possess souls.

P. 8, note †. See Vol. III., p. 35, note ††.

P. 32, notes, l. 14 *ab infra*. Read Swayambhū.

P. 46, ll. 1, 2. The original is :

उत्पन्नः प्रोच्यते विद्वन्नित्य एवोपचारतः ।

The term उपचारतः here implies 'metaphorically'.

P. 55, notes, l. 5. Read Swayambhū.

P. 60, notes, l. 2 *ab infra*. Read Sthūlamaya.

P. 65, note •. Also see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., pp. 50, 51 (2nd ed.).

P. 66, notes, ll. 3—5 *ab infra*. Dr. Muir translates, more correctly: "Every substance (*vastu*) is brought into the state of substance (*vastutā*) by its own inherent power." *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., p. 51 (2nd ed.).

P. 70, notes, l. 7 *ab infra*. For the term *mukhya*, see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., p. 57, text and note 104 (2nd ed.).

P. 80, note, l. 7 *ab infra*. For the term *ambhāṁsi*, see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., p. 24, note 36 (2nd ed.).

P. 84, ll. 13 *Et seq.* For a similar passage, translated from the *Taittiriya-saṁhitā*, see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., p. 16 (2nd ed.).

P. 85, notes, l. 11. Instead of 'Shodāśm', the Translator had "Sorasi". Many errors of this stamp have been corrected silently.

P. 95, l. 7. Professor Wilson had "Gavedukā", instead of 'Gavedhukā'; for which see Vol. V., p. 175, notes 3 and 4.

P. 95, notes, l. 10. The *udāra* is a wild grain, according to the commentators.

P. 95, notes, l. 11. For the Professor's "Kodrava", I have put 'Koradūsha'. On this word the commentator Śrīdhara makes a remark which plainly evinces that he was not an inhabitant of Eastern India.

P. 96, l. 10. Where I have printed 'drop', the first edition had "dross". The error was typographical, the original word being *bindu*.

P. 98, notes, l. 4. "The city of the Gandharvas is, properly, Alakā,—on Mount Meru,—the capital of Kubera." Professor Wilson, in Professor Johnson's *Selections from the Mahābhārata*, p. 11.

P. 108, l. 1. For the origin of the name Uttānapāda, see *Original Sanskrit Texts*, Part I., p. 72 (2nd ed.).

❖ P. 109, l. 4. Dakṣha's daughters by Prasūti furnish several of the Mātṛis, according to divers enumerations of the members of this group.

P. 111, notes, l. 11. It is observable that we here have Daṇḍanaya, but Daṇḍa and Naya in p. 110.

P. 112, text and note •. Raurava is one hell, and Naraka is another. See Vol. II., p. 214; p. 215, note †; and p. 216.

P. 114, l. 13. The words "whose essence is the elements" scarcely render aright the original expression, *bhūta-bhāvana*.

P. 116, ll. 4, 5. In Āśvalāyana's *Gṛhya-sūtra*, IV., VIII., 19, we find the following names: Hara, Mīda, Śarva, Śiva, Bhava, Mahādeva, Ugra, Bhīma, Paśupati, Rudrā, Śankara, Īśāna.

- P. 117, l. 2. For Ushá read Ushas. The latter is classical; the former, Vaidik. Compare *apsará* and *apsaras*.
- P. 117, l. 7 and note †. According to the *Mahābhārata, Ādi-parvan*, sl. 2589, Anila had two sons, Manojava and Avijnātagati. Which of the two is the same as Hanumat is undecided. Can Anila be synonymous with Íśāna? If not, there are two Manojavas with mothers of the same name, Śívā.
- P. 119, l. 10. Instead of Gauri, some MSS. yield Bhūtiganri.
- P. 119, ll. 23, 24. Dhaneśwara is the term there rendered "the god of riches"; and Kubera is not named in the original.
- P. 129, l. 9. Instead of my 'Sumeru', the former edition had "Mern", which I find in no MS.
- P. 139, l. 21. उपचारतः—a word often misapprehended by the Translator,—here means 'metaphorically', not "who is not in need of assistance". Further, परमेशः, rendered "the supreme god", is explained as meaning 'lord of the great Mā', i. e., Lakshmi. The original of the sentence is as follows:
- प्रोच्यते परमेशो हि यः शुद्धोऽप्युपचारतः ।
प्रसीदतु स नो विष्णुरात्मा यः सर्वदेहिनाम् ॥
- "May he who, though pure of connexion with all things, is, by a figure of speech, called lord of the great Mā", &c.
- P. 144, note *. My list of corrigenda, entirely overlooked by Professor Müller, points out several gross typographical errors; and these he has reproduced.
- P. 147, note, last line. Ordinarily, at least, Rāhu is described as a Dānava, or son of Danu.
- P. 148, notes, l. 7. Rāhu is generally considered to be the ascending node; Ketu, the descending.
- P. 152, l. 4. Besides this Lakshmi, the text of the *Vishnu-purāṇa* mentions another, of less note, daughter of Daksha, and wife of Dharma. See the Index.
- P. 152, l. 7. The first edition had, for Niyati, Niryati,—an error of the press.
- P. 154, notes, l. 14 *ab infra*. "Agastya is a celebrated person, in Hindu legend. He is fabled to have prostrated the Vindhya mountain, as well as to have drunk the ocean dry. The traditions of the South of India ascribe to him a principal share in the formation of the Tamil language and literature; and the general tenour of the legends relating to him denotes his having been instrumental in the introduction of the Hindu religion and civilization into the Peninsula." Professor Wilson, in Professor Johnson's *Selections from the Mahābhārata*, p. 51, note 2.
- P. 155, l. 7. Read Abhimānin.
- P. 155, notes, l. 7. Read Śankhapād. See Vol. II., p. 262, note †, *ad finem*.
- P. 156, notes, l. 5. Pavaka, I think, is called parent of Kavyavāhana.
- P. 156, note 2. See Vol. III., p. 166, note *.
- P. 159, note, l. 3. Instead of 'Ayushmat', the former edition had "Ayush-manta", which is impossible.

- P. 165, l. 5. The word "Madhuvana" is not in the original.
- P. 177, l. 2. Variants of Ślishfi are Śrishfi and Śishfi.
- P. 177, l. 8. Arāṇya seems to be as common a reading as Anarāṇya.
- P. 177, l. 9. For the patriarch Vairāja, see Vol. II., p. 86.
- P. 178, l. 1. The original here not only names Pīṭhu, but calls him by his patronym, Vainya.
- P. 178, notes, l. 12. The unwarrantable "Suvithi" stood, in the former edition, for my 'Swarvithi'.
- P. 182 notes, l. 10. Read Bhramaras.
- Pp. 187—191. For a passage on the milking of the Earth, see the *Atharva-veda*, VIII., X., 22-29, —especially, 24. I have to thank Dr. Muir for this reference.
- P. 194, l. 2. It would have been an improvement, for clearness, to put Samudra, instead of "ocean". Sagara, a well-known proper name, also means "ocean".

VOL. II.

- P. 5, last line. The original word for "region" is *ayātana*.
- P. 7, ll. 3 and 19. Read Keśava.
- P. 9, notes, l. 8 *ab infra*. Read by.
- P. 21, notes, l. 2. Professor Wilson had "Kakud" where I have substituted 'Kakubh'.
- P. 22, l. 3. For definitions of the Vasus and Rudras, see the *Bṛihad-aranyaka Upanishad*, III., IX., 3. 4.
- P. 29, l. 3. On the number of the gods, see the *Bṛihad-aranyaka Upanishad*, III., IX., 1. 2.
- P. 29, notes, l. 5. Read Śāstradevatās.
- P. 71, l. 6. Śimbika was half-sister of Vṛchachitti.
- P. 85, ll. 4. 5. Soma, here called monarch of Brahmins, was, himself, a Kshattria, according to the *Bṛihad-aranyaka Upanishad*, I., IV., 11.
- P. 86, l. 5. For Vairaja, see Vol. III., p. 158, note ::.
- P. 100, l. 3. The Translator had "Medha" where I have put 'Medhas'.
- P. 105, notes, ll. 5, 6. Arhat is synonymous with Jina, Arhata, with Juna. See Vol. V., p. 376, note †.
- P. 112, note, l. 14. Instead of Kubera, we have Soma, in p. 240.
- P. 117, l. 8. The Gandhamadana mentioned in p. 122 is a different mountain.
- P. 120, l. 3. Burnouf considers the Śita to be the same as the Sihoun *Introduction à l'Histoire du Bouddhisme Indien*, Vol. I., p. 540.
- P. 126, note †. The Sanskrit name of the Oxus seems, through the Chinese, to be Yakshu. And this form I have found, more than once, in MSS.
- P. 121, notes, l. 10 *ab infra*. Read Śarayu.
- P. 128, notes, l. 7. Read Narmadā.
- P. 137, notes, l. 10. Read मेनुष्या.
- P. 143, notes, l. 12 *ab infra*. Professor Wilson had "Sthāneśwara" where I have put 'Sthānīśwara'. This, the correct form, I learned from

CORRIGENDA, &c.

- the *Harsha-charita*. The first word in the compound is Sthānu, a name of Śiva.
- P. 149, l. 1. According to Mr. Molesworth's Marāṭhī Dictionary, a river Pravara falls into the Godavari at Tōṅkeṇ.
- P. 152, l. 1. Read Pūrnāśā.
- P. 155, notes, l. 13 *ab infra*. Read 131.
- P. 159, notes, l. 10. Read Kuṇḍīna.
- P. 163, notes, last line. For Kāśī read of the Kāśis.
- P. 166, note *. For third read fourth.
- P. 166, note ††. The Māhishiki river is named in the Bengal recension of the *Rāmāyaṇa*, *Kishkindhā-kāṇḍa*, XI, 16.
- P. 166. Erase note §§.
- P. 172, notes, l. 6. Read occur.
- P. 172, note ††. For Kuśasthali and Kuśāvati, see Vol. III., p. 320, note.
- P. 174, note 1. "The Sauvīras, although applied here to a particular family, denote, as is subsequently shown, a tribe or people either identical, or closely connected, with the Sindhus: for Jayadratha is differently termed Raja of the Sindhus or Saindhavas and Raja of the Sauvīras. They are sometimes named in concert, as Sindhu-sauvīra and, whether the same as the dwellers on the Indus, or a kindred tribe, must have occupied much the same territory,—the western or southern portion of the Punjab," Professor Wilson, in Professor Johnson's *Selections from the Mahābhārata*, p. 65, note 3.
- P. 177, note 1. For the supposed modern representatives of the Dahas see Sir H. M. Elliot's *Supplemental Glossary*, pp. 414; 415.
- P. 178, l. 2. Read Kariāfakas.
- P. 211, notes, l. 5. Read Puloman.
- P. 221, text and note 1. According to Sir David Lyndesay's less pagan notions,—which he shared with St. Thomas Aquinas and Peter Lombard,—a humbler class than the gods, the elect, will be indulged with the felicity of contemplating the discomforts of the damned:
 "They shall rejoice to see the great dolour
 Of dampnit folk in hell, and there torment;
 Because of God it is the iuste ingement."
- P. 236, ll. 10, 11. Compare the *Bhagavad-gītā*, IX., 16.
- P. 255, notes, l. 7. For 1809 read 2010. In correction of Professor Wilson.
- P. 287, note *. For Rambha, see Vol. V., p. 12, text and note.
- P. 288, note †. For Āpuraṇa, see Vol. V., p. 251, note †.
- P. 293, notes, l. 12 *ab infra*. Read Śakra.
- P. 316, note 1. It does not appear that the *Bhāgavata-purāṇa* mention Jambūmarga. Probably it is named by the scholiast Śrīdhara: Professor Wilson not seldom confounds commentary and text.
- P. 318, l. 4. A Sauvira is an inhabitant of Sūvira. Read, therefore, 'king of the Sauvīras'.
- P. 340, l. 32. Read l. 11 *ab infra*.
- P. 341, l. 25. Mahārāshtra, it seems, was a designation known to Hsien Tsang.
- P. 343, ll. 21—23. Erase the note.

VOL. III.

- P. 2, notes, l. 4. *Read* Yāmas.
- P. 6, notes, l. 18. *Read* Vamśavartins.
- P. 7, notes, l. 2. The inverted commas should come at the end of the sentence in the line preceding.
- P. 16, l. 1. *Read* Ākūti.
- P. 18, notes, l. 3. *Read* Vaikuṇṭha.
- P. 44, notes, l. 5. *Read* Śānti.
- P. 55, note †. For the meaning of *prānīyāma*, see Vol. V., p. 231, note .
- P. 60, l. 6. Kṛita seems to be the right name. See Vol. IV., p. 143, text and note †.
- P. 77, note 1. Compare Vol. V., pp. 229, 230, text and annotations.
- P. 80, notes, l. 2 *ab infra*. For father *read* grandfather.
- P. 87, note †. For p. 110, note §, *read* p. 113, note †, and p. 114, notes † and §.
- P. 131, notes, l. 8 *ab infra*. The real designation of the work there named is, I find, *Prānakṛishṇyaśālabadh*.
- P. 131, notes, l. 14. Tārachandra Chakravartin prepared the revised English translation; and the Bengalee translation was the work of Viswanatha Tarkabhusana. See the London *Asiatic Journal*, 1832, Part I., p. 335.
- P. 164, note †. See p. 221, note , in the same volume.
- P. 167, notes, l. 13. *Read* Varuṇa.
- P. 179, notes, l. 10 *ab infra*. *Read* I, LXXXIX., 3.
- P. 183, note †. For Vol. II. *read* Vol. I.
- P. 187, notes, l. 8 *ab infra*. *Read* *Brahmāṇḍa-purāṇa*.
- P. 197, l. 4. The Manu intended is Varvaswata, for whom see p. 13 of the same volume.
- P. 198, notes, l. 9. *Read* vague sense.
- P. 209, l. 1. *Read* Ārhatas.
- P. 209, note 2. Professor Wilson should have written 'Ārhatas'. See Vol. V., p. 376, note †.
- P. 217, Note . *Read* *Rishi*.
- P. 218, l. 9. Instead of "Raja" of Kāśi" the correct rendering is 'Raja of the Kāśis'.
- P. 220, l. 3 *ab infra*. The translation is not literal here, and yields neither "king of Kāśi" nor 'king of the Kāśis'.
- P. 230, note . See p. 20, note 1, in the same volume.
- P. 245, l. 5. *Read* Trīṇabindu.
- P. 249, notes, l. 6. It is meant that Ānarta and the rest were brothers.
- P. 249, note ¶. *Read* IX.
- P. 266, notes, l. 4. *Read* Rantināra. Also see Vol. IV., p. 129.
- P. 266, notes, l. 8. *Read* Matināra. Also see Vol. IV., p. 129, notes 2 and .
- P. 267, l. 21. The learned reader may be amused by the whimsical etymologies, of a like character to this, given in the annexed stanza

from Appayya Dikshita's *Śivatattvavivēka*:

हिसिधातोः सिंहशब्दो वश कान्ती शिवः स्मृतः ।

वर्णव्यत्ययतः शब्दः पञ्च कः कक्षपो यथा ॥

- P. 280, note *. Yauvanāśwa is, of course, the patronym of Ambarisha.
 P. 283, notes, l. 2. 'Dulisaha' is a more ordinary form than "Dussaha".
 P. 321, notes, l. 5. *Read* Tārāpīḍa
 P. 325, notes, l. 2. For a Yājñavalkya, in connexion with the Yoga philosophy, see Vol. V., p. 230, note .
 P. 325, note 4. Viśwasāhwan is, probably, one with the Viśwasaha of p. 323
 P. 330, notes, l. 2. See Vol. IV., p. 344; supplementary annotation on p. 84.
 P. 334, l. 1. *Read* Rītuḥjit.
 P. 336, note § *For* 353 *read* pp. 244, 245.

VOL. IV.

- P. 17, note 1. For Rīchika, see Vol. III., p. 80, note †.
 P. 30, l. 6. Compare p. 136, note 1, in the same volume.
 P. 40, note †. Compare what is said of Tālaṅgha in p. 57.
 P. 57, l. 3. *Read* Tālaṅghas.
 P. 63, notes, l. 13. *Read* Ruchaka.
 P. 67, notes, l. 6. *Read* Roṇapāda.
 P. 95, l. 3. *Read* Āvāha.
 P. 97, note †. *Read* Dhīrīṣṭa.
 P. 100, notes, l. 18. *Read* Śūra.
 P. 111, notes, l. 3 *ab infra*. *Read* Hanisa, Suvamśa.
 P. 112, note . For Chārūhasini, see Vol. V., p. 69, note §, p. 81, note §; and p. 83, note §.
 P. 114, notes, l. 10 *ab infra*. *Read* p. 98.
 P. 123, notes, l. 10. Insert a comma after "Brihaspati".
 P. 129, note . *Erase* another, Atitāra.
 P. 132, notes, l. 12 *ab infra*. It is observable that, in p. 102, we have had a Bhima son of Anila.
 P. 141, notes, l. 4. *Read* Dīdhāśwa.
 P. 142, note ††. For Dhītarāśhtra *read* Dhītarāśhtra's charioteer. according to the more usual legend.
 P. 144, note 3. *Read* Riksha.
 P. 148, notes, l. 6. *Read* Arimejaya.
 P. 157. *Erase* note §.
 P. 171, note 1. For Śreṇika, father of Kūnika, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., p. 154.
 P. 178, l. 5 and note . For "Chandapradyaṭa" and his son Pālaka, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., p. 147.
 P. 182, note **. *Read* is Udayin. For Udayin, said to have been son of Kūnika, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., pp. 147, 154.

- P. 184, note 2. A *mahāpadma* is only a thousand millions, according to the *Lilāvati*. Elsewhere a simple *padma* is said to be ten thousand millions. See Vol. V., p. 187, note †, and p. 188, note †.
- P. 202, l. 1. For Gardabhila, said to have been king of Ujjayini, and father of Vikramāditya, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., pp. 139, 143, 148, 154.
- P. 215, note *. For Pushpamitra, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., p. 148.
- P. 216, l. 1, and p. 217, notes, l. 1. For Viśwasphatika, see the *Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, Vol. IX., p. 146.
- P. 217, note †. For Kāntipuri read Kāntipuri.
- P. 223, notes, l. 11 *ab infra*. Read Chandrabhāga.
- P. 248, ll. 7, 8. "The increaser of the Bhojas" would be the correct rendering. See p. 260, note ¶, in the same volume.
- P. 279. Erase note †.
- * P. 308, note 1. See Vol. V., p. 231, notes 1 and .

VOL. V.

- P. 2, note ¶. For Hayagrīva, as slain by Viṣṇu, see p. 90.
- P. 2, notes, l. 7 *ab infra*. Read बभूवुश्शतीः.
- P. 26, notes, l. 12 *ab infra*. Read निष्क्रम्य.
- P. 53, notes, l. 9. Read *Harivaṁśa*.
- P. 74, notes, l. 5. Read *Gajagāmini*.
- P. 140, notes, l. 6. Read *Virāṭa-parvan*.
- P. 169, notes, l. 3 *ab infra*. Read *Vaiṣṇinucharita*.
- P. 176, l. 6. For sage read age.
- P. 190, notes, l. 4. By the original expression, here rendered "four fingers", 'four finger-breadths' is intended.
- P. 209, notes, l. 2. Read Tat-prāptaye.
- P. 256, l. 4. Read Rishi.
- P. 250, l. 5. Read Ribhu.
- P. 290, notes, l. 5. Read Vāmāchārins.
- P. 319, l. 5. Read *Brahmānda*.
- P. 326, l. 1. "Vāma Yamāchārīn", it may be surmised, is a typographical error for 'Vāmāchārīn'.
- P. 356, l. 4 *ab infra*. Read Madhwāchārya.
- P. 358, l. 5. Read *Śrī Bhāgavata*.

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